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*"I went to an Eventide Home and watched old ladies looking up at Officers and stroking their hands as if they felt they really were their guardian angels."*

(LADY SIMON : NOV. 1933.)

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# THE SALVATION ARMY

THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 523.—JANUARY 1935.

Art. 1.—JAPAN'S 'WORLD-WAR' IN TRADE.

It is indeed a 'World-War' which I shall show in progress, waged by a clannish people far apart from us in race and distance: a true 'Family' in Burke's definition of nationhood, and one weaponed for this peculiar fray as no Western polity can ever be. Noiseless and bloodless thus far, the conflict is yet of extraordinary interest to the student of history who knows how often a keen quest for markets has led to the clash of armaments. Old Montaigne took note of this: 'The richest, the fairest parts of the world topsy-turvièd, ruined and defaced for the traffick in Pearles and Pepper!' Military historians of our own day drive the lesson home. 'Let us clear our minds of cant,' wrote the late Sir John Fortescue. 'One community undersells another, and thereby threatens its livelihood. That is called "Peace." Then the undersold attack the undersellers and shoot them down; *that* is called "War." I see no great difference between the two.'

Nothing like Japan's 'underselling' has ever been known—either for the scale or range of it; the directive skill of its strategy and tactics, or the dilemma in which its protagonist is placed by his own success. Roamers in the Far East return home to marvel at the non-knowledge shown by our Press, Parliament, and people—even by their experts and technicians—in the tremendous onslaught which the Japanese 'Family' is compelled to make on all fronts—not excluding the United States. Thus in the House of Commons, Labour's spokesman was very bitter about the 'running sore in Asia': he referred to Manchukuo. But Major Attlee was mistaken; it is

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the soundest of all 'cells' in that stupendous hive where more than half the earth's population dwell. In that flimsy barn, the Imperial Diet of Tokyo (for its white granite palace on the hill is not yet ready), an Asiatic M.P.—Seigo Nakana—lauds 'the flawless State,' which Japan intends to set up in the new 'Empire' which her Army (quite on its own account!) seized three years ago. Manchukuo is four times the United Kingdom's area, the chief local source of her suzerain's fuel oil.

A *train de luxe* of sleepers and diners lands the amazed traveller in Hsinking. No British newspaper has a correspondent there to tell of the modern capital that is being built, in a sort of Babel-fury, where squalor and chaos and banditry were so lately rampant. Six hundred Japanese officials direct affairs—political and military; constructional, economic and judiciary. Here power-machines roar and steam-saws scream, while thousands of Shantung coolies use pick and shovel on streets and sewers and water-mains. Broad avenues and spacious squares are laid out and planted with trees, as for another 'Washington' *in petto*. Smart motors dash by with red-tabbed officers in khaki, or grave functionaries with fat portfolios. Russian *troikas*, drawn by Mongol ponies, and man-hauled *rikashas* are left behind in the headlong traffic. And, of course, new railways: 30,000 kilometres are already planned. One line goes deep into Jehol towards Peiping. Others are strategic-economic feeders to out-mancœuvre the Russian lines on the Eastern China railway. They run from north to south; westward towards Mongolia, eastward to the frontier of the Maritime Province. These will carry the hides and wool of the wilder parts, and Manchuria's beans and grain to the new ports of Rashin and Seishin, in Korea. A mighty network of steel rails is projected in view of 'the next advance': new tentacles towards the heart of Asia, with clear facilities for rushing troops to the most sensitive points.

. . . I sit in the cosy lounge of the Hotel Yamato, sipping Château-Lafitte—which is much cheaper here in Hsinking than it is in Paris. In last month's 'Times' I read of Mr Roosevelt's 'New Deal'—which is far simpler than foreigners dream of, since it is worked by adding twenty-seven thousand millions to the Federal

Debt during the present incumbent's four-year term. If this 'saving by spending' wins—well and good. If not—'après Moi, le Déluge!' Vastly different is Japan's 'New Deal' in Asia, although ignored in our home Press. This one calls for genius, and Japan's statesmen have it, as the most sluggish minds will be soon made aware—even alarmingly! . . . But here is Mr Kawasaki. He is Manchukuo's 'booster' at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; a right able 'cog' in the formidable Machine which Tokyo controls so quietly. Together we shoot up in a skyscraper lift on to a concrete roof-garden. And thence the Stranger is invited to survey a City of Promise which the far-off Member for Limehouse called 'a running sore'!

My guide is enthusiastic. 'We've hosts of experts here,' he says, as I look down on rolling clouds of dust. 'Give them a year or two. That driveway with fourfold rows of trees will link the old town with ours. On the left, you see the Emperor's Palace going up; it will cost three million yen. Behind it is the Central Bank—seven million yen; and the G.P.O., two million more. *There's* the Bank of Korea. That one is Finance; the pile beyond it is Public Education.' So goes Japan's new 'Havana' or 'Manila'—but with this difference: that Tokyo's iron hand in the velvet glove will retain its grip (and extend it) in a way unknown to the loose and spasmodic governance that centres in Washington.

Our people are told of 'conscript labour' in Japan's factories. Of 'starvation' wages paid to docile slaves; of goods sold in every corner of the earth at 'slaughter prices'—even below the bare cost of materials in the older industrial nations, to say nothing of freights, duty, and profits. All this begets dismay and bewilderment. So let us see and judge for ourselves at the source. . . . Osaka is larger than Glasgow, and has three times Birmingham's population. It lies on an inland sea, thirty minutes by rail from lovely Kyoto—the home of the old Mikados, and the centre of Japanese art. Its port is Kobe; and no visitor could have an abler guide than Mr Inabata, the President of Osaka's Chamber of Commerce. On his desk lay a copy of that Report which the Federation of British Industries prepared for a House of Commons debate on: 'The Menace of Japanese Competition.'

Needless to say, Mr Inabata read and spoke English as well as his caller. He had marked certain passages in that F.B.I. jeremiad. How and why Japan's millions had turned to industry—'still further to be intensified in overseas markets.' With what skill 'the growing tariff obstacles' placed in her way were overcome by varying the range of her wares. The unique factors of low wages and labour conditions; night-and-day hours of work, a debased exchange, State subsidies and freight dumping. Next, 'the foundation-grant for exporting-guilds; the forming of cartels for every branch, the zoning and price-cutting in world markets.'

This alien survey of Japan's new 'War-Machine,' with the plan of campaign against our own Empire; the scrapping and replacement of ships and the allocation of subsidies—I read for the first time in Mr Inabata's office. Two passages he pointed out to me. 'The standard of living makes it impossible for the East and West to compete on equal terms. . . . In plain words, unless Rice is made equivalent to Beef—the Beef Standard will cease to exist, so far as many industries are concerned.'

'We are aware of all this,' I was suavely assured. 'And we try to extend our home markets. As for the surplus, we are fast grading up quality, and we aim to limit and control the volume of our products sent to foreign countries. Our Government has the right to modify all things, without recourse to Parliament.'

Introductions were freely offered me. What did I wish to see? I chose cotton, having noted its 'explosive' havoc, from the drab streets of Oldham and Burnley clear over to Lodz, in Poland. Cotton comes first. It keeps Japan on 'polite' terms with the United States—though one hears of other sources of supply in view, from Brazil to Abyssinia—where three million acres of land were lately leased for planting.

In the Tsumori suburb of Osaka is one of the 130 model mills of the Dai Nippon Cotton Spinning merger: all told, this concern employs 210,000 workers. At this branch I found 1600 young girls and 190 men, these last being highly skilled. The manager spoke French and English with equal ease; a smiling diplomat who had 'passed' in all things, from engineering to industrial psychology. 'First of all,' he said briskly, 'you must

see how our girls live, and judge the "sweat-and-martyr" legend for yourself.' Eleven spotless and airy, one-storey halls stood in their own gardens; about 150 girls lived in each of these. The bedroom floors, as in all Japanese homes, were covered with thick matting. Of 'furniture,' as we know it, there was next to none: but you may note this also in the palace of a Tokyo millionaire. At night the girls take mattresses and wraps out of their cupboards, and they sleep in greater comfort than in their own peasant homes. When I was there (at 2 p.m.) the little women had just bathed, and were hurrying to the dining-room, babbling and gay, clad in graceful kimonos of every hue.

'This shift,' I was told, 'has been at work since 5 a.m., with half an hour's rest at noon. Now they are free for fifteen hours. In our shops they dress in Western style. After the bath, they change into *our* mode as a sign of leisure. Another shift is on duty from 7 till 4, and a third from 2 till 11 at night. Or course, we vary these turns to avoid monotony.' . . . 'And what do they earn?' . . . 'They have bed and board, light and heat. We provide the mattresses and covers; baths, soap, and towels. We feed them quite well for fifteen sen (about 2½d.) a day; and this we deduct from the wages. These average 65 sen (say, 10d.) a day for their clothes and recreation; they may go out, or do as they please from 5 to 9 o'clock. With this wage our girls are content. They spend about 3 yen a month, and send the rest on to their families—perhaps 15 yen, or a little more (rather under 17.). They stay here from three to five years; then they return home, or else marry.'

They were good to see, this girlish legion; cheerful, robust, and intelligent. In one shop were 700 weavers intent upon huge washing and spinning machines whose rumble made the sunny air vibrate. Yet the workers seemed few in these enormous halls; I remarked this to my guide. 'That is a factor of progress,' he said. 'Here one trained girl will attend to twenty or more weaving-machines. In our spinning-mills you will see 800 spindles with only two overseers to manage the work.' I paused by a little person who had her hair covered with a white cotton cap to protect it from dust and cogwheel dangers. Her eyes were intent upon the dizzy rhythm of two batteries of bobbins. That grave little maid gave



us a profound salute, whilst keeping her mind on the dancing bobbins before her.

'They're wonderful,' the manager agreed. 'But here,' he added, 'all is mechanical and automatic. Attention and a quick eye are alone needed. So one young girl can look after a great array of machines.' 'These are largely our own,' he pointed out in the combing and washing-halls. 'We get the very best that Lancashire can furnish. Then we improve upon them, adding devices of our own to give still higher returns. I must show you some cambric we're turning out; dowry pieces fine as linen, to tempt new markets in the Dutch Indies.' Here in Osaka one finds a democracy of labour. In the same compound live workers and the mill staff, from managers and engineers down the scale of rank. If long hours are the rule, the president himself works longer than any. And not only are automatic looms installed by the thousand, but native experts are for ever bettering these with all the fervour of artists seeking new media and effects.

As for the millions of hands whom Japan musters, one sees how absurd is any talk of 'conscript labour,' such as is common among Russia's indolent hordes to-day. The crave for knowledge is quite phenomenal. Here 97 per cent. of the people are literate, and patriot pride is a universal religion. Happy and content are the humblest units, with full trust in their leaders. The entire force operates as an Army should when its make-up is 'disciplined, yet not docile.' So I can endorse the finding of Mr Arno S. Pearse, of Manchester, in his report to the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Associations. His comment after an extensive tour is as follows: 'The writer doubts whether many girls in expensive boarding-schools of Europe are being better cared for, or have more freedom than the girls of the big mills visited. The competition for recruits is alone a guarantee of their good treatment. And among the owners one finds a laudable vying with each other in welfare-work.' A textile magnate like Koyata Yamamoto pays tribute to what he calls the 'Nippon spirit' of his large staffs. Of these, in a season of slump, he was compelled to dismiss 23 per cent. and to make a cut of 50 per cent. in the exiguous wages of the rest.

Yet there was no revolt in the ranks. On the contrary, there was still closer attention shown in those factory classes where free lessons are given in music (the *samisen*, or Japanese guitar), as well as in feudal ethics, etiquette, and worship. It will be seen that Japan is a labour-world apart. Self-made millionaires figure here, as in the United States; and the memory of early struggles makes them very kind. One need only recall the career of Kyohei Makoshi, a man of immense wealth, who in 1928 became a Crown member of the House of Peers. As a peasant lad he ran away from home, and tried to run a lodging-house in Tokyo. Makoshi thought he was 'made' when the great Mitsui clan gave him a job at 2s. 6d. a week. That was the foundation of a fortune which began with the Yebisu Brewery at Meguro. To the end of his days, this 'Bass' or 'Guinness' of Japan would tell how hunger and despair all but drove him to *seppolou*, or suicide, in his younger days.

What we call Western influence lies only on the surface; 'Japanism' abides as a vivid force. It is also inexact to dwell upon the 'low standard of living'; for here, both classes and masses live austere, with no great gulf between their wants; rice, beans, and a little fish. No one spends money on 'furnishing.' In Kobe I called on a rich man; and in a great house of thirty rooms, only one had any furniture in it. This Spartan way, with its old traditions, its instinct for beauty and things of spirit, marks the soul of Japan. Lafcadio Hearn called these a people of *kokoro*, or 'heart,' never to be understood by Europeans or Americans. Why do they drink and dance to the cherry-blossom? Why is self-sacrifice extolled, so that life itself can be lightly held where loyalty to the Ideal (and to the Throne) is concerned? A naval destroyer was in collision. No blame attached to its commander; yet he took his own life by way of 'apology' to the Emperor for the occurrence. Again, in Tokyo, fire broke out in an artist's house and consumed the man's finest work. His sole thought was to rescue a cheap framed photograph of his Sovereign. This sentiment is common to all, even the factory-hands. And if corruption does creep in to sully the mystical 'Mirror,' as with a pestilent breath, the second emblem of the Sword is ever there to wipe it clear again.

It is curious to note how the Fighting Services act as moral censors of the body-politic in Japan. It is not so long since a group of naval and military cadets in uniform called on the Prime Minister (Ki Inukai) and warned him to change his drift under pain of death. He declined, and was forthwith 'executed' in front of his family. The previous year had seen his predecessor, Yuko Hamaguchi, fatally shot by 'Blood-Brothers.' Then it was the turn of ex-Finance-Minister Inouye, who opposed the militant party. The next victim was Baron Takuma Dan, head of the vast Matsui companies. Count Nobukai Makono, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, had his house bombed, and he only escaped by a miracle. No vulgar criminals do these things, but members of such bodies as the 'Love of the Fatherland,' which is known as 'the breeding-ground of direct-action patriots.' Its chief, Kosaburo Tachibana, of the city of Mito, was arrested after the murder of Premier Inukai, and received a life-sentence for plotting that affair. Most of his students were farmers' sons; these pass direct from the classrooms into Japan's Conscript Army, after absorbing the economic and political tenets of the so-called 'Kodo' creed. Adherents of the Mito school tried to save their master, as well as Inukai's assassins, from the consequence of their act. Over a million petitions for clemency were presented to the High Court, and of these about a thousand were *written in blood* by champions of: 'Our heroes, who fear the Government is too weak and lenient in their foreign policy.'

If I dwell on these phases, it is to stress the abyss of thought which sunders Japan from other nations. It is from the peasantry that soldiers and sailors come, as well as factory hands; and even the soul-state of these last is incomprehensible to the West. Nowhere else, I imagine, would the directors of a company that was doing badly be waited on by employees who, of their own accord, proposed a scale of *still lower wages* as a mark of sympathy and assistance to the Board. Class-conscious feeling is by no means absent. The Japanese are quick to copy and adapt ideas from abroad, even our Trade Unions. The first of these, known as the Yuaikai, or Friendly Society, was formed in 1912. For years it had to confine itself to social and cultural work. Legalised

in 1919, the Yuaikai grew into the Federation of Labour ; but even now its membership is small, its leaders' utterances often sifted for 'dangerous thoughts,' and repressive measures are taken at Government discretion. Feudalism is ever present in this 'Family's' affairs. That Family has more than doubled since America's warships knocked at a terrified Shogun's door in 1854. Two centuries previously Iyeyasu Tokugawa had closed it, forbidding his people to build any ships larger than 50 tons. So when Japan cast off her shackles she found the world's empty spaces taken up. For this reason was the policy of *Sangyo Rik-koku* (basing the nation on industry) undertaken. And to the four antique castes of warrior, farmer, artisan, and trader, a fifth was now added : this is the factory proletariat.

Even this element retains the clan and feudal feeling which marked its onset in 1868, when the Imperial *régime* was restored and industrial capitalism taken in hand by the State. Wealth came to be centred in a few hands ; not alone the manufacture of goods, but the supply of, and trading in raw materials, as well as the shipping and banking facilities. Colossal mergers came into being. These are what the German magnate, Hugo Stinnes, called 'vertical Trusts' ; by which is meant—not the means of production in one specific branch, but the grouping of twenty or more widely disparate industries under one financial control. Thus the Mitsui interests now have a capital of 5,000,000,000 yen ; those of the Mitsubishi clan, 2,000,000,000 ; Yasudai, 1,500,000,000 ; Sumitomo, 1,200,000,000 ; and Shibusawa, 800,000,000 yen. Defenders of these trusts claim that while they may injure the smaller commerce, it is to rationalisation on the hugest scale that Japan owes her amazing progress since the Great War ended, and her global quest for markets began.

But zealots of the fighting Services point out dangers here. Big businesses, they contend, can (and do) buy the votes of a Parliament which is still largely on trial in this singular land. A Deputy is only paid 3000 yen a year, and to elect him costs 50-100,000 yen. Who puts down such sums, it is asked, but the 'industrial interests' who seek to have a Diet majority 'in their pocket' ? It is stated that after each General Election, the 466 Deputies

who meet in Tokyo are not only quite poor men, but are heavily in debt to the various financial and industrial groups whose voting helots they must now become. Hence that constant watch and ward over the *moral* of Government and 'Family' alike which the Army and Navy see fit to undertake, often with draconic methods of *katharsis*, or periodic purge. There are over ninety more or less secret societies for the cleansing and reform of national politics. These have at least 600,000 avowed members and millions of adherents, chiefly of the younger generation; fervid prophets of Destiny and aggrandisement in Asia. Thus the years 1935-6 are said to mark a 'critical period' for Japan; this is referred to as the *Kiki-time*—one of looming conflict, even of despair. It was in view of this that General Tanaki formed the new Merinkai Association, in which former high officials of both Services take a resolute stand against naval ratios imposed by the Western Powers, thus 'discriminating' against the Japanese and hampering their forward march.

Sensitive and proud, with a fast-rising population, these people confront the problems implicit in their industrial surge. Japan lacks the palliative and safety-valve which large-scale emigration or expanding frontiers might provide. So her genius turned to trade; her 'shock troops' now skirmish in the remotest parts to find openings for products that are varied in kind and quality, according to reports and demands. How this is being done in every continent is a romance which our own Press rarely records, beyond counting Lancashire's losses in India and elsewhere by the thousand million yards. Japan's gearing for this economic war is irresistible. It begins with research work, such as produced the famous Toyada spinning-machine; this enables one operative to handle 20, 30, and even 40 spindles, as against only 6 in England. There can be no 'competition,' since the odds are overwhelming. 'Their goods are so much cheaper,' mourned the hosiery spokesman of Nottingham's Chamber of Commerce (Mr W. Bignall), 'that nothing we can do will bridge the difference. Fine-gauge, fully-fashioned lisle stockings of Japanese make, with lace clocks, were retailed here at 2½d. a pair; it could not be done by a British manufacturer if he got all his materials

for nothing.' The Japanese craftsman worked all hours in a week of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  days; he might earn 11s. 7d., as against Nottingham's 4l.; the female rates were respectively 5s. 9d. and 2l.-2l. 5s. for a 48-hour week.

It was the same with rayon, when Japan's silk fell to \$1 a lb. in the United States. Ten years ago, rayon began to replace silk, even in Japan. In that decade her rayon production leaped from 780,000 lb. to 96,000,000 lb. Mr Samuel Courtauld told his shareholders that their workers received eight and ten times the wage-rates of Japanese hands in the silk and rayon factories. Mr George Douglas, of the Bradford Dyers (which handles textiles of every class), further pointed out that, while Japan's export of rayon fabrics had increased ninefold in five years, our own had dwindled by two-thirds in the same period.

It should be noted that the figures of Japanese conquest in all fields are not merely large; they have no parallel in economic history. 'It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this,' Mr Courtauld concluded. 'I think the future of the whole of this country's export trade is at stake.' So, within living memory, has a jealously-closed feudal State flashed into world-power, though with few natural resources of its own and therefore forced to import over 53 per cent. of its raw materials.

Only in this land is the professed pacifist rated as a traitor, to be severely repressed. Nowhere else does the factory worker address his or her boss as *Oya-bun*, or *Oya-kata*; terms which imply a 'fatherly' relationship between capital and labour. Through the entire warp and woof of 'Japanism' (which is here a State cult), 70,000,000 souls form a true 'family' or tribal clan. That sentiment colours and pervades the massed energy of an empire *sui generis*. New words had to be coined to express imported concepts of duty and right. These supplement—without supplanting—the ancient code of *Giri* (the moral urge to uphold justice); and *Ningō* (humane sentiment). Together these sufficed to link the master-craftsman of old with his apprentices. They were comrades; ties of duty, and even affection, united them in the day's work, and perfection was a matter of pride. One is astounded to find much of this persisting in Japan's mechanical hives of to-day, from vast

cotton-mills to blast-furnaces, and the porcelain and glass works of Nagoya.

Those who talk of 'slave-labour,' of 'low standards of life'—haply with Eastern 'barbarians' in mind—would have a shock if they knew the gentle, even exquisite culture of humble Japanese factory-hands. Here Nature is adored in her season-festivals. Students still sit at the feet of venerable teachers of the Tea Ceremony, the Incense Contest, and the *Ikabana*, or Flower Arrangement—in whose *siekwu*-ritual the mill-girl may be an adept. She and her lover should be seen at a Tokyo flower-show. There is no admission fee, no vieing among exhibitors, no prizes, even. It is the subtlety and science of the various 'Schools' which allure initiates: the strange, basic 'triunity' of appeal, with Heaven, Man, and Earth expressed in sprays of budding prunus or willow, or in a branch of pine—with a camellia added, or a rose or a marigold, 'arranged' as in the Momoyama screens and Ukiyoye scrolls. Much enthusiasm is shown by the visiting crowds; they are of all classes and ages. But can one conceive such a function at Blackpool on an uproarious Bank Holiday?

In Osaka I discussed the 'difference' between Japan's wage-earners and our own with a world-travelled executive officer. He agreed it was profound: 'Put one of our mill-lads in Oldham' (he said to me); 'give him a raised iron bed, a soft mattress, and blankets and sheets; a diet of bacon and eggs, too, with bread and butter and tea, beefsteak and "veg." and the rest. That lad would go on strike for his matted floor, and the rice and fish ration which he enjoys and thrives on. It is Britain's and America's misfortune that the labourer's "standard" calls for materials of high price. That is all. But what of the delight-in-life "standard"? We put that first, and fear no comparison with your own.' Adaptable in all things of supply and demand, Japan's home market made the most of rayon when it began to affect the silk-trade; so that the cheaper fabric became a blessing in disguise for the women's dress. Of this the decorative centre is the *obi*, or sash; and an assortment of these is a feminine desire. The *natsuobi*, or summer-girdle, has but a fleeting vogue, and the following season may find it out of date in colour and design.



Now the *obi* is 12 feet long and 1 foot wide. It needs two swathes of fabric; and if this be of silk, the cost is considerable where a humble wardrobe seeks a variety. Here rayon was the solution. Japan's women took to this intrusive stuff; and native production of it will soon surpass that of all rivals in the world's markets. This appears to be the rule, whether the line is bicycles or matches. Checked in one product by tariff reprisals, another is handled with meteoric success. And where one triumphal march is blocked, unlikely avenues are explored till the march continues. Nothing can stop it but concerted action among the Powers, including the United States. And such a move as that might well cause an explosion.

Meanwhile, figures of increase are recorded monotonously. Belgium's cotton textiles have no chance abroad. And in spite of an anti-dumping tariff imposed by the United States on electric-light bulbs, Japan sent in these by the hundred million. Mr Roosevelt slowed up the spate of cotton-rugs—only to find new Japanese inroads in Pacific and South American markets. The Philippines turned away from U.S. cotton goods, and Japan's sales there soared by 81 per cent. As for bicycles in that vast archipelago, Ataru Nakayama, chief salesman in that line, could say: 'All the Filipino cycles are of Japanese make.' For ten shillings a glittering machine may be bought, thousands of miles from its place of origin. The Indian *ryot* uses them to go to market. You will see them in Bangkok, in Rangoon, in Malaysia, and as far afield as Australia—from whom Japan now buys one quarter of the wool-clip to sell in Yorkshire socks made of that same wool at 1½d. a pair!

In our own Dominions, specially-trained envoys, like Iyemasa Tokugawa in Ottawa, direct this 'War' with ingenuity and zeal. Often it is from our own Empire's produce—Indian cotton, Malay rubber, Australian wool, Nigerian tin—that weapons are forged against us. A recent shipment of 140,000 flax-plants from New Zealand may portend a fresh assault. New industrial crops are tried out in Japan's research stations; new machines and market surveys do the rest, after the consortium of banks, manufacturers, shippers, and pioneers abroad have arranged a new 'launch' and shown the way of it. If

any failure in this co-ordinated strategy is on record, I have no knowledge of it. Sir James Parr, the High Commissioner of New Zealand, goes so far as to call Japan 'the greatest menace to our Empire to-day. Into our Dominion she is pouring goods at prices that would be laughable, if they were not so disastrous. Methods and trade-marks are copied, markets cut from under us, and our shops flooded with Japanese wares.' The same is told of Africa, from Egypt down to Tanganyika. Printed cottons made incredible headway; our own slumped heavily year by year. 'The Egyptian *fellah* wants to buy cheap goods,' as one of our own Trade Missions reported. 'And we are no longer the cheapest producer.' Not only in price, but also in patterns, quality, and selling systems, the Japanese have captured the *fellahin*.

They will make anything, these patient workers, from perambulators to the 'Scotch' whisky wherewith they now regale unlikely tipplers of the Middle East—and even America since Repeal came into force. It is not bad stuff, although immature, and owing nothing to sherry-cask storage. In the Malay States a halt had to be called when Japanese rayon at 8½d. a yard 'competed' with our own at 2s. Here also the Little People won the cotton piece-goods trade with ease. Next, they showed fabrics for the native *sarong*. A turnover of only \$500 in 1927 leaped to \$2,500,000 last year before new quotas all but wiped out the increase. What did it matter? The world was wide; the game of producing and planting-out by tireless tactics was one that allured the Japanese as the problems of a chessboard engage a master-mind. What of the West Indies, under Nobunesa Yoshizumi? And those teeming Dutch possessions to which Dr Haruichi Nagaoki led an exploring party of late: Government economists and manufacturers who sailed from Kobe to Batavia to propose a tempting 'New Deal'? Last year Japan sold 150,000,000 yen worth in that quarter, and she took sugar, rubber, beans, and petroleum of one-third that value. Imports are to be kept down, her own interests to be safeguarded, such as the growing industries of Formosa.

It is a long way from Batavia to Bradford and Leeds. Yet there also foreboding gusts of this trade 'typhoon'

are felt. Samples are sent from the West Riding to Japan and copied in the mills for dumping in India and remote marts. Great pains are taken to get cloth-designs exact. In our Leeds Chamber of Commerce were shown Japanese fancy worsteds priced as low as 3s. 6d. a yard, and men's socks at 1s. 10½d. a dozen pairs, after all costs of transport had been paid. In South Africa appeared hats at 17s. 6d. a dozen. And if in the Delhi Assembly a tenpenny umbrella was shown, our own M.P.'s had a whole museum for the House to see; shilling shirts, sevenpenny pants, pencils at twelve a penny, and the like. Of India in general I need not say much; it is but one of many factors in Lancashire's plight and the passing of a pre-War peak when seven thousand million yards of cotton cloth were sold abroad. In two years a single concern—the Lancashire Cotton Corporation—scrapped 4,000,000 spindles. This continuous decline is a dismal story, with the Weavers' Union resisting the 'more looms' system, as though Japan never existed at all. 'There is something tragic,' says a report of the Oldham Master Cotton Spinners, 'in the drop from 830,000 looms to less than 360,000. The number of operatives thrown out of work; the ruin of manufacturers, and huge losses of capital as a result of this shrinkage, are shared by the spinning-mills which supply the looms with yarn.'

The onset of Japan in the economic sphere recalls that of German war-genius in 1916. What I may call 'Inter-Allied Conferences' meet in Prague or Carlsbad or Mulhouse to discuss strategy and defence—of the cotton trade. The Polish delegate is gloomy. 'In the face of double-shift working,' he says, 'low labour costs and inflation, European industry is powerless.' Ten nations foregathered in Alsace for a further parley. The Belgian spoke of cotton blankets in East Africa which Japan offered at 60 per cent. below his own. In the Union itself, covert cloth was on sale at 5d. a yard—or less than what England paid for the coloured yarn!

M. Brasseur wound up by asking who could 'compete' with mills that ran 120 hours a week and paid wages that no white man could subsist on? Spain had her say about undercutting in her Moorish market. Sweden had staggering figures on matches. France (M. Roger

Seyrig) asked what would happen when Japan doubled her present meed of spindles? And the President put a naïve question to Japan's own delegate, who was present to sympathise and explain to them all, as a 'foe' who was also a friend: 'Why,' M. Schlumberger asked, 'does not Japan market her textiles at higher prices and make more profits?' Up rose Genaro Okada to reply:—Their mills were doing very well—with dividends of 18 and 20 per cent. It was *not* their policy to charge more for exported wares than was current in the home markets. Japan meant no harm to anyone. She had her own way of business, as others had. . . . At another bewildered Conference—this time at The Hague (of War-rules fame)—the same Japanese envoy gave out the gospel of Cheapness: 'It is of vital concern to a depressed world,' Mr Okada said, 'that all peoples shall be able to buy goods of quality and common use at much lower cost than European or American industries can make them.' Who shall gainsay this? Javanese planters see a complete suit of whites, with topee and shoes, going at 6s. Japan's toy-trade plays havoc with Germany's, and it shows yearly jumps of from 50 to 100 per cent. in many markets. Here in England are dumped gaily-dressed dolls—not in *kimonos* and *obis*, nor yet with Mongolian features. These have flaxen hair, and are clad in 'the latest,' as chubby waxen or celluloid midgets of our own race. As a cheap line, they are the despair of Nuremberg and the Black Forest folk who make and dress dolls in their own homes.

But these are external signs; it is at the heart of things in Tokyo that one can judge of the close-lipped sagacity which directs all this to the end of an Empire's greatness. The great goal is to make Japan independent of alien supplies. From Manchuria is already drawn 9,000,000 lb. of raw wool. It is hoped to increase this to 45,000,000 lb., and also to improve its quality by crossing Manchurian sheep with merinos. In Hsinking one hears of Japan's new farming ventures on a vast scale. Thus the Manchukuoan Cabinet and the South Manchuria Railway are interested in a Joint Land Corporation with a capital of 4,000,000*l*. This is to finance and settle cultivators from the homeland in rich, undeveloped areas. Then Siberia's fishing-grounds, ceded by Russia after 1905, now have a

large canning industry in salmon, lobster, prawns, and other marine comestibles. Toilet powders, perfumes, and cosmetics bid fair to invade every mart, East and West, as well as fancy soaps packed in dainty boxes and sold at a fraction of the French and English lines.

The city of Nagoya has replaced her old potters and their wheels with a modern industry which copies the best models on a huge and expanding scale. This trade doubled itself in two years. It is the same in munitions. Japan makes all her own arms: imports of pig-iron and copper, nickel and nitrate show enormous increases. And in foreign fields Britain herself is outbid in tenders, as in Singapore last year, where the Municipality found Japanese offers from 11 to 24 per cent. less than the lowest from well-known firms of our own. Likewise in 'Iraq are we underbid in Government contracts. Even Russian goods have no chance in the Near and Middle East. Afghanistan is a notable conquest. Here Japan's shock-troops swept all before them. Her sales leaped from 8,000,000 yen in 1932 to 20,000,000 yen last year. So impressed were the ruling castes of Kabul with the bazaar-wares shown them, that an exchange of Ministers was arranged; and Habibullah Tarzi, the first Afghan envoy, was soon interviewing house-agents in Tokyo's Imperial Hotel so as to open his new Legation and arrange for the dispatch of textiles, chemicals, and heavy machinery.

No phase of this unrelenting drive is so interesting as the 'floating sample marts'—the so-called 'shotless Navies' of Japan—which now nose out under picked crews to create new selling centres. Tramp steamers like the 'Unkai Maru' are turned into marine department-stores, with a lay-out of merchandise gaily decked and priced to captivate simple races at sight. A brave display can be landed in boats where no harbour exists; but the more effective way is to invite local headmen and chiefs on board and 'do them well' before taking them round. Next day the native masses come flocking to the ship, kindled with what they have heard about this wondercraft. The 'Unkai Maru' tours the Philippines and Mandated Isles, as well as Hong Kong and Singapore. The larger 'Alaska Maru' sails around Africa: Cape Town, Lagos, Accra, Dakar, and many other ports.

Maroons and rockets go off as signals. Invitations are sent ashore to white and black traders, as well as to the ubiquitous Chinese. Up the gangways go motley throngs—hundreds; sometimes thousands—to inspect those tempting showcases. Here are watches and rubber shoes; paper and china, *sarongs* and cotton cloths; toys, garish silks, brushes and brooms, umbrellas and sunshades, matches and firearms.

New needs are noted politely: 'Next time we come——' In glass jars are tea and flour; Taiwan (Formosa) sugar; tobacco, dried cuttlefish, camphor, rice, insecticides, menthol crystals, and fish-oil. Along the deck are shining arrays of bicycles and useful machinery. The range is surprising; it is varied and added to with eager courtesy. And no such prices were ever seen or even thought of. Local shops may be stocked from the ship on easy terms, and intelligent natives are told how to order more. If the visit looks promising, that town is earmarked for a Japanese agency. Nothing is too small as a start, on the patient principle that snowflakes may become an avalanche. Besides these, there are earth-girdling tours of exporters, and business missions to the twenty Latin-American Republics, from Cuba and Mexico down to Brazil, Argentina and Chile. These men speak and write Spanish and Portuguese. They do much more than open their sample-cases in hotel salons. They hire large halls; they advertise in the leading journals, and often (as in Montevideo) establish Japanese Chambers of Commerce, which their Consuls link up in an aggressive chain of Iberian advance.

In these tours Japan's newspapers play a practical part. At its own expense, the Osaka 'Mainichi' equipped a party under its own financial editor, Mr Shimoda. These began in India and the Dutch East Indies, passing thence to the Middle East, and winding up in London and Paris. But in no sphere is this *Kaizo*, or extension process, so keen as in South America. Here U.S. trade in four years fell off 82 per cent., while Japan advanced 200 per cent. in 1932. In this field are commercial missions on the largest scale. One of them represented fifty important firms, and all countries were visited, from backward Ecuador to immense Brazil, where Japan's own nationals have extensive colonies in São Paulo and Amazonas;

these are selected settlers, trained for tropic life and labour in special schools in Kobe and Yokohama. The Ambassador in Rio (Kyujero Hayashi) himself toured a Republic which is bigger than all Europe, studying fresh means for increasing imports and exports—especially the supply of raw cotton, with reduced freights in Japanese vessels. One of Mr Roosevelt's last duties before he left for his holiday in Hawaii was to look into the startling figures of Japanese inroads upon U.S. commerce in this Empty Continent. These were published; and so rueful were America's Press and people over them, that the President issued a hurry call to his South American Trade Commissioners to report upon the position to the Department of Commerce.

Little can be done, however, since the problem centres in price-cutting which leaves all rivals in the lurch. Indeed the Republics themselves are alarmed over the menace to such industries as they possess; and Brazil has just cut her quota of Japanese immigrants to two per cent. of the normal influx. None can say what counterstroke is possible. It is futile for a Labour student like Lord Snowden to claim: 'There is nothing to be feared from the competition of low wages and long hours.' He grows caustic over 'complaints that Japan is driving us out of Asiatic markets. Her success is due to adaptability. For the countries of poor purchasing power she produces an attractive cheap article, of such a kind that the British manufacturer says he would be ashamed to make it. If our traders want to regain those markets, they must stop blushing and face up to facts.' They have done this; so have their colleagues of Europe and the United States. All are agreed that the 'facts' are insurmountable. Lord Snowden should have heard that great textile expert of India—Sir Homi Mehta—discussing Japan's drive in the Council of State in New Delhi. Sir Homi asked how was it possible, on any equal terms of rival trading, for a man to take up a pound of raw cotton with one hand, while with the other he could give away the finished cloth at the same price?

Japan's industrial 'machine' is new. Her pioneers are well drilled in tactics; innately polite and methodical; masters of many tongues, and gently gay as players of a game they cannot lose. These legions are invading Asia



—to 'show the Flag' as well as their goods. One band (with Japanese Moslems in it) covered 15,000 miles of arduous going. They began in Bombay and worked north to the bazaars of Peshawar. By camels, motors, and aircraft they went on to Kabul and Teheran, passing thence to Baghdad, Damascus and Beirut, and from there to Cairo, and even Jeddah and Mecca. This mission bore jewelled gifts for wise men of the East. Much more than drummers, they called upon Ministers, and were by Ibn Saud himself 'invited to sit close' and discuss Army clothing and small-arms. Others, again, visit Macassar, Surabaya, and Samarang, where high quality has no chance with low prices. In Ceylon we are already beaten in bleached piece-goods—and in all else, from glassware and cycle-tyres to kitchen saucepans. What can one do when ten face-towels or twenty handkerchiefs are offered for one rupee in the bazaars of Colombo?

Behind all this, as I have said, the Militarist stands guard as the keeper of Japan's *Samurai-soul*; he cannot be ignored, if the interplay of forces is to be fully grasped. Here in Japan the soldier may be a mystical philosopher; ascetic as a monk, with a moral code which contrasts oddly with Japan's 'Western' side as shown in politics, finance, and commerce. Because of some shadow that fell on a relative, the Army's C-in-C., General Senjuro Hayashi, wished to retire.

His predecessor, Sadao Araki (that idol of young Japan), may be taken as the true type of *ensor morum* in the 'Family's' affairs. Reputed a fire-eating jingo, I found Araki a dreamy soul. He has no European language but Russian. His friend, Colonel Kurobashi, speaks perfect French; and I lunched with both in the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. 'We teach self-sacrifice for the community's sake,' General Araki said; adding significantly: 'Unless you remove the weeds, a good crop will be ruined.' The leaders of Japan, he insists, must set moral values first, and not govern wholly by economic and mercantile rules. Freedom there should be, but used for the common weal: 'Consider the trees. In principle, you have the right to hew them down. But if they be old and of noble spread, they belong to *all*. So you cannot deprive the people of the joy of contemplating them, and even making a cult of their shady splendour.'

This led Araki to expound to me the doctrine of *Kodo*, or the Imperial Course. 'It is immanent in the State,' I was told. 'For the citizen it means limitless devotion to the Sovereign, with virtue and courage in the votary himself. He must walk in the One path, and never compromise with any of the baser interests.'

In Japan's millennial literature there is frequent mention of the Sacred Treasures of the Throne. Their symbols are the Mirror of Justice, the Necklace of Divine Goodness—and the Sword, which stands for inviolable dignity. 'It is the Japanese Army,' its late C.-in-C. concluded, 'which must ever be the custodian of these against all attacks—whether they come from within or without.' The same lofty ethic is held in the Navy, whose spokesman is Admiral Nobumasa Suetsugu, C.-in-C. of the Fleet. It is significant that the last of the Genro, or Elder Statesmen (Prince Kimmochi Saionji), should have advised the Throne to appoint an Admiral (Keisuke Okada) to succeed an Admiral (Makoto Saito) as Prime Minister. The watchful Services were relieved at this, in view of the so-called 'Crisis of 1935-6.' For then the hampering Treaties of Washington and London expire. Japan's freedom from the League of Nations becomes effective, leaving the Army and Navy Staffs free to press their demands upon the Treasury, as well as to maintain their control of the Government in the best interests of the 'Family.'

Over against these militant apostles are certain business coteries who look back upon 'red-ink' Budgets of the past years, and point to a National Debt now nearing 10,000,000,000 yen (about 600,000,000*l.*). The magnates of finance and industry are *not* elated at the prospect of a new 'race' in warship-building, or on naval estimates which double those of the 'peak' year. It is a situation of outstanding interest; one that spurs Japan's statesmen, as well as her militarists and traders, to fresh efforts which may soon astonish us all.

IGNATIUS PHAYRE.

## Art. 2.—THE WORK OF MADAME CURIE.

THE work of Madame Curie in science and in medicine is so great, so admirable, that a description of it for the general public must be on very broad lines. Let us begin with a rapid glance over the last two centuries which a brief extract from a French medical treatise affords us.

' Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the Abbé Nollet, a clever physicist, fascinated the world with his experiments with the Leyden electric jar. Among other curious demonstrations, he caused the discharge of a recently invented electric machine to pass through an egg-shaped glass vase whose atmosphere he had rarefied by the aid of a still more recently invented air-pump, and thus transformed a vivid spark into a silent, steady light to the admiration of his beholders.

' At the same period the famous Cagliostro was exhibiting prodigies of another sort, and professing that neither the past nor the future could hide their secrets from him. Had he indeed been able to foretell the future, this is what he might have prophesied of the egg of Abbé Nollet: " This egg contains the germ of discoveries more surprising than that of the New World. From this egg, before the end of the next century, there will issue an invisible light to which nothing is obscure. It will turn our flesh into the most transparent of veils. On a magic screen it will display in movement the most secret organs of our body, of which it will show the structure in detail, and will disclose the disorders produced by illness. On a sheet of glass, on a sheet of paper, it will fix in an instant these fleeting pictures with a perfection surpassing the steel of the engraver or the pencil of the artist. A marvel yet greater, this invisible light will be also an invisible fire and a destroyer; deep down in the organs of the body—but without consuming them—it will consume the abnormal growths which upset health and threaten life. Finally, marvel upon marvels, a few tiny grains of a new element wrung with infinite labour from the entrails of the earth and skilfully distilled, will become as suns, of a minuteness and of a power almost infinite, grains which spontaneously without tiring or fading will for centuries emit with its extraordinary quality of penetration the same invisible light and fire."

Had such a prediction then been made, who would have believed it? Yet it has come true. In the nine-

teenth century, as the rarefication of the 'egg's' atmosphere was increased, we had the tube of Geissler, the tube of Hittorf, and the tube of Crookes.

In 1895 Professor Roentgen of Wurtzburg made an unexpected discovery. In a darkened room, at some distance from a Crookes' tube, protected by a lightproof casing, he saw, when the electric current was passing, crystals of a fluorescent substance, platino-cyanide of barium, catch the light and retain it, in spite of various objects of wood and even thin metal being interposed. Here was a new kind of ray, capable, like the ultra-violet solar rays, of lighting up certain substances and, as Roentgen found, of making impressions on photographic plates even through the human body. Roentgen called these 'X' rays, their nature quite unknown. When he put his hand between the tube and a screen treated with platino-cyanide of barium illuminated by them he saw the bones of its skeleton very dark in the fainter outline of its flesh. That was *radioscopy*. These shadows, fixed upon a photographic plate replacing the screen, could be printed from like ordinary photographs: this was *radiography*. These two methods combined are known as *radio-diagnosis*. During 1896, the practice of this method disclosed the fact that too long an exposure to the action of the rays produced first a loss of hair on the exposed surface, and, further, inflammatory reactions varying from slight redness to a complete mortification of the skin. These were, in Germany, called Roentgen burns, but it is more convenient to call them radio-dermites, reserving the term *burns* for lesions caused by excessive heat. Two doctors in Vienna, using them merely for the destruction of superfluous hair, chanced to reveal their curative action in skin diseases, which brought radio-therapy (or, more precisely, roentgentherapy) into being.

Roentgen's discovery engendered others, which carried on the line of succession. In the early Crookes tubes the wall of glass, from which the X-rays start, was luminous, emitting, like a glow-worm, visible light without heat. In January 1896 Henri Poincaré queried whether X-rays were necessarily allied to fluorescence. Henri Becquérél, attempting to verify this hypothesis, discovered that the salts of uranium had the property of emitting rays which are capable, like those of Roentgen, of impressing

photographic plates through black paper and sheets of aluminium. He proved also that this power belongs to the salts, whether deprived of fluorescence or not, and thus discovered the rays of uranium, and the extraordinary phenomenon of their spontaneity and persistence.

In 1898 Madame Curie made her first discovery. She found that other substances, thorium and its compounds, possess the same properties as uranium, and announced their emission of the Becquerel rays. She named these substances *radio-active*, and showed their property to be atomic in character, that is to say, while intimately allied to the atoms of the two elements, it is found intact through all the physical and chemical changes to which one can submit them.

Working upon the idea that it was highly improbable radio-activity as an atomic property could belong only to one kind of matter, she embarked upon a very long and delicate investigation to find out what substances, if any, besides uranium and thorium were radio-active. Armed with extremely sensitive measuring instruments, she examined one by one all known metals and metalloids!—including very rare ones, rocks, and minerals. She thus discovered a quite unsuspected fact: that certain minerals containing salts of uranium show two, three, and even four times the radio-activity of uranium. Obviously the probability was that if these minerals—autunite, chalcocite, pitchblende—had such strong radio-activity it must be because of having within them a minute quantity of something strongly radio-active, but neither uranium nor thorium. 'I thought,' she wrote, 'that this being so, I might hope to extract this mineral by the ordinary processes of chemical analysis.' It was then that, faced with this new fact so rich in promise, Pierre Curie abandoned his own researches to join forces with his wife. From more than a ton of pitchblende, sent as a gift of the Austrian Government from Joachimsthal in Bohemia, they succeeded in the long, arduous, and weary work of extracting a few centigrammes\* of a substance that was extremely radio-active, the miraculous *radium*. It was Madame Curie herself who reduced to the state of pure

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\* A centigramme is  $\frac{1}{100}$  of an ounce avoirdupois (31 grammes).—  
[Translator.]

chloride of radium this new element and who determined its atomic weight.

The absence of a research laboratory at the School of Industrial Physics and Chemistry of Paris, where Pierre Curie was professor, aggravated the difficulties of this work. Begun in a glass-covered studio which served as a store for machines, it was continued in a disused shed. Let Madame Curie speak :

‘ In this building \* with its asphalte floor and a glass roof, which was by no means rainproof, a hothouse in summer and in winter scarcely warmed by one single stove, my husband and I passed the best, the very happiest hours of our existence, devoting all our time to our work. Without any of the conveniences which facilitate a chemist’s work, we managed with great difficulty to test and treat in numerous ways a growing quantity of material. When it was impossible to do this outside, the windows had to be open for the escape of noxious fumes. Our furniture consisted solely of old deal tables, upon which I deposited my precious traces of radium. Having no piece of furniture in which to enclose them, we left them on these tables or on boards ; and I never forget the ravishing joy we used to feel when on coming in at night we saw on all sides the faintly luminous shapes of the produce of our toil.’

To compare to the sun the minute grain of radium extracted from a ton of pitchblende is no figure of speech ; it is the statement of a fact, marvellous but true. Spontaneously and constantly radium throws off light, heat and electricity, while also emitting a complex beam of which one portion is analogous to the ray of Roentgen, but has a much greater penetration. A source of incalculable quantities of energy, the atom of radium, compared with the span of human life, is a storehouse at once inexhaustible and infinitely small. Century after century, without appreciable loss, its incessant output of energy—light, heat, electricity—continues. To reduce its weight by one-half, calculations show that a period of not less than 1730 years is needed.

From a scientific point of view, the discovery of radium and other radio-active substances opens to the physicist undreamt-of horizons, all a world unknown.

\* I first met her when she was lecturing (during the War) in a *stable*.—  
[Translator.]

It overthrows the accepted ideas about the constitution of matter, of the structure of the atom, of intra-atomic energy and its transformations. It marks the point of departure of an actual scientific revolution. From a practical standpoint, it gives to medicine a new and very powerful arm for the treatment of a whole series of maladies. The radium ray acts like the Roentgen ray on luminescent substances and on photographic plates. It acts similarly upon living cells, and provokes *radium-dermites* closely resembling *radio-dermites*. Henri Becqu  rel was the first to learn this at his own expense by carrying a radio-active substance for some hours in his pocket. Pierre Curie, of his free will, confirmed this accidental discovery by submitting his own arm to a similar substance, though of considerably less power, for ten hours ; the result being a wound which took four months to cure.

This power of radium discovered, its possibilities were at once explored by several doctors—notably Drs Danlos, Oudin, Ch  ron, Dominici and Wickham—whose researches revealed it as a destructive agent potent against cancers of the skin. Thus in France there came into being a new medication, radiumtherapy, which should by right be called *Curietherapy*, capable of being pressed into service against deep-seated cancers. The study of radium explained also the therapeutic qualities of certain mineral waters and muds. After the award of the Nobel Prize had proclaimed to the whole world the importance of the discovery of radium, a new Chair was founded in 1904 at the Faculty of Sciences of Paris for Pierre Curie, who was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences the following year. Hear Madame Curie again :

‘ His intellectual faculties were in full development as well as his experimental skill. He hoped soon to have the laboratory he had always longed for, and to be in a position to group around him workers full of his inspiring ardour, irresistible in its charm. A new epoch of his life was opening out, full of promise for the enhancement of a reputation already so great.’

On April 19, 1906, while still only forty-six, Pierre Curie’s infinitely precious life was violently cut short by a street accident.



After his death, Madame Curie succeeded her husband in the Chair created for him at the Faculty of Sciences, and continued alone the researches they had begun together. In 1910 she succeeded in isolating radium in a metallic state, and published her 'Treatise on Radio-activity' in two volumes. In collaboration with her husband she had discovered and studied what they named Induced Radio-activity—the generation in substances placed near radium of similar powers. Thus it became possible to capture in glass tubes and to distribute the power of radium without—marvel of marvels!—diminishing the power of the radium itself. Among the works of Madame Curie should be specially mentioned her 'Dosage du radium par l'émanation dégagée,' and 'Mesure de la constante de l'émanation dégagée,' which form the scientific bases upon which rests the use in medicine of these therapeutic agents.

In 1910 Madame Curie presided at Brussels over a Congress of Physical and Medical Radiology, where the greatest physicists of the world, Lord Rutherford at their head, rendered her their homage.\* An international commission fixed a new physical unit, the unit of emanation, and named it the 'curie.' However, compared with the minute quantities of emanation employed in medical treatments, the curie is such a large unit that the millicurie or even the microcurie (a millionth) is employed in practice. One gramme of radium element produces emanations which amount to seven millicuries an hour. To Madame Curie was confided the preparation of an international standard measure of radium in the form of twenty milligrammes of pure chloride of radium enclosed in a sealed glass tube. This measure, like that of the standard metre, is kept in the Pavillon de Breteuil at St Cloud, near Paris. It serves as a standard for the measures of other countries.

The War interrupted the scientific researches of Madame Curie, but by no means diminished her activities. Keen to devote herself to the national effort, she foresaw what a powerful aid the X-rays could bring to the examination of the wounded, the diagnosis of fractures, the

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\* Like Clemenceau on the morrow of victory, Mme Curie was made a 'Free Associate' of the Académie de Médecine, without formalities of election.

location of bullets, etc. ; but at the same time she realised the sad lack of proper preparation for their use. To remedy this became her aim, and to know what she effected one must read her little book : ' *La Radiologie et la Guerre*, ' in which is described not only what she saw, but what she felt one might hope for.

The ' *Union des Femmes de France*, ' one of the three French Red Cross societies, gave her the management of its X-ray service, while another similar society, the ' *Patronage National des Blessés*, ' entrusted her with the establishment of installations wherever urgently needed. Madame Curie also succeeded in equipping eighteen X-ray cars, and herself drove several of them into the War Zone. To her also is due the creation and distribution amongst the auxiliary hospitals of two hundred X-ray installations. In the course of her missions to the various hospitals in the War Zone, from Dunkerque to Verdun, often did she not only install these posts of assistance and teach their staff how to make use of them, but would make the examinations and locate the fragments of metal in the wounds herself.

As the War went on, the wonderful help of the X-ray service, daily growing in utility, required more operators than were to be found among the men available. Doctors and assistants, also competent drivers, were too few, in spite of three hundred turned out in groups of twenty at the Val de Grâce Hospital in Paris. Hereupon Madame Curie, acting with the Service de Santé, created a School of Radiology for nurse-specialists. This school achieved great success, and from 1917 to the end of the War turned out a hundred and fifty skilled assistants. To Madame Curie is also due the creation in 1916 of a public service of radiumtherapy in France. Every week tubes of radium emanation were prepared in her laboratory, and most often by herself, with the radium she and Pierre Curie had so laboriously won from the Austrian pitchblende, to be sent to hospitals in the provinces for the relief of patients. She served also on various committees, advising upon many obscure questions concerning the application of radium to purposes other than those connected with medicine.

Truly it may be said of Madame Curie that she gave the best of her time, of her activity, and of her powers

to the nation. The services she rendered to the wounded are simply incalculable. We should add that for years she profited by the most precious help of her elder daughter, Mademoiselle Irène Curie, now Madame Curie-Joliot, who was a scholar when the War began, and who later on became her associate in research, and who announced at the recent International Conference on Physics that she and her husband had discovered a method of artificially producing radio-activity, a discovery of inestimable promise. To carry out a decision taken in common with her husband, Madame Curie made a gift to the Radium Institute of Paris of the entire amount of salts of radium, equivalent to more than a gramme of radium-element, which they, at first with their own hands, had so laboriously extracted from the Austrian pitchblende. Without this generous gift the Institute could not have been started, nor could it have responded to its founders' intentions without the close collaboration which blended the researches of Madame Curie with those of Dr Regaud, Director of one of the two sections of the Institute.

At this Institute the scientific bases of curietherapy were studied from the beginning, but its application to the relief of suffering is comparatively recent, dating from 1916, with the first national service of radium-therapy and the distribution of tubes of emanation to military and civil hospitals as organised by Madame Curie in association with the Service de Santé. It was after the War that this early organisation made its rapid development, under the direction of Dr Regaud, who, returned from the Front, was then able to devote all his energies and abilities to it. In 1919 he and his colleagues of the Pasteur Institute began to treat cancer patients in the Paris hospitals with radium emanations. The successes obtained, though not constant, were encouraging; and to provide a more complete service on a much larger scale, independent of the State, the Curie Foundation was created, thanks to the generosity of Dr Henri de Rothschild, and it received recognition as an establishment of public utility on May 27, 1921. Its objects are to aid the development of radium research and to encourage its practical applications, especially in medicine, and, above all, in cancer. Its buildings adjoin

the two laboratories of the Radium Institute. Dr de Rothschild further endowed it with a gift of five hundred milligrammes of radium-element, a splendid gift, though far short of its needs, for the hospital could not have fulfilled its task had it not been for the generosity of Madame Curie, who gave to it, besides the gramme given in the name of her late husband and herself, the radium presented to her by the women of the United States.

Madame Curie, who was of Polish parentage, her maiden name being Marie Sklodowska, died of pernicious anæmia, the result without doubt of her constant exposure to the rays of radium, on July 4 last. It is hoped that this brief account may help towards a realisation of the incalculable debt which the world of science and the world of suffering owe to her, the greatest benefactress they have known. 'Rien ne manque à sa gloire, il manquait à la nôtre' ('Her glory lacks nothing, it was lacking to ours').

ANTOINE BÉCLERE.

(Translated by Mr R. MACDONALD LUCAS, of the French Army X-ray Service.)

## Art. 3.—CHRISTMAS FOLKLORE.

1. *Fabyan Robert: The Chronicle of Fabyan, etc.* By Jhon Kyngston. London, 1559. fol.
  2. *The Chronicles of England, from the yeare . . . 1576.* By John Stow and others. 1587.
  3. *'A Ha! Christmas. This Book of Christmas is a Sound and good Perswasion for Gentlemen, and all wealthy men to keepe a good Christmas, etc.'* 1647.
  4. *The Hesperides & Noble Numbers.* By Robert Herrick. Edited by A. Pollard. Preface by A. C. Swinburne. Lawrence & Bullen, 1898.
  5. *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition.* By C. A. Miles. Fisher Unwin, 1912.
- And other works.

THERE are few Christmas customs which do not afford some backward glimpse into remote antiquity. Long before that 'bright particular star' had beckoned the Wise Men from the East, and stood for a signal light above the stable in Bethlehem, Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Persians had celebrated their outstanding winter festival. So also, beneath their faster skies, had Goths, Visigoths, Danes, and Northmen, nor must we forget our own immediate ancestors, the English of pre-Christian England. These were the men—lovers already of poetry and ships—who waxed fierce over their ale-cups while the harper recounted the achievements of Beowulf: how that extraordinary man destroyed a monster and that monster's mother, how he built a feast-hall, and how furthermore, exceeding all that is told of Ulysses, he swam the high seas sword in hand, confirmed in the gentlemanly resolution of debating the passage with the 'whale-fishes.' But he met his death at last, in slaughtering a dragon.

The Angles styled the night of the twenty-fifth that of 'the Mothers,' 'by reason,' says the Venerable Bede, 'of the ceremonies practised in their night-long vigil.' But *what* ceremonies? The antiquary grows almost ill with curiosity, but the Venerable—and exasperating—Bede is silent. The accepted explanation is that these mothers were scanning the heavens for the appearance of the constellation Virgo, which was to be the token

that a pre-Christian virgin-mother had given birth to a son in whom the year and the world were to be renewed. The gossips were assisting at a supernatural lying-in. At first nothing would be heard but wailing and lamentation, but so soon as the longed-for announcement had been made visible—charactered in stars in the open volume of the skies—plaints were silenced and doleful gestures were converted into demonstrations of the most extravagant joy—rites which many have presumed to be analogous with those of which the ancient Egyptians made use in their cult of yet another virgin-mother, Isis and her son Horus.

The several feast-days which collectively made up the Roman Saturnalia contributed to the English Yuletide of tradition not a little of its pageantry and colour. During the Saturnalia no criminals were executed, no wars were declared, gifts were exchanged, schools were shut so that children could enjoy the holidays with their parents, and houses were decorated with evergreens. A remarkable characteristic of that ancient feast deserves from its singularity peculiar notice. In commemoration of the supposed equality which was believed to have prevailed upon earth in the reign of Saturn, the normal relations between slave and master were reversed for a period of days. Masters, to some extent, waited upon their slaves, while these were permitted to talk as they would of all matters, and even to ridicule their masters! To this day in at least one English hotel, by a pleasing affectation of the archaic, something of this sort is observed. On Christmas Day guests attend upon the staff and perform sundry menial duties—black shoes, for example, and bring early tea to waiters in their beds!

‘ Boar’s head in hand bear I

Decked with Bays and Rosemary ’—

a classic distich from an ancient feasting song. Of all dishes the boar’s head was the most typically characteristic of the old-time Christmas. Swan, though, came near to rival it, and peacock. This princely fowl, re-endowed with his glowing plumes after roasting, was brought to the board by no meaner hands than those of the lady of most illustrious rank and birth there present. The platter on which the boar’s head lay, was borne to

the table in procession, the minstrels playing, the choir singing, and the fool gambolling before it. Here pagan ritual had survived all tradition of its inward significance. That the boar's head was not there solely for food is obvious, for what share of that one dish could fall to the lot of every member of the tumultuous rout which thronged the baron's hall? Little enough! A sacrifice was perhaps intended to Ceres, great goddess of crops and 'sun-burn'd sicklemen, of August weary,' and what oblation could be more appropriate to such a divinity than the head of that greedy, precipitate vermin, foe to husbandmen and trampler-down of standing corn? A chance reference in a Cavalier Christmas song of the days of the Restoration may be cited, for what it may be worth, in support of this view. The depredator had

' Made kind Ceres sorry,  
But now, dead and drawn,  
He's very good brawn,  
And this we set before ye! '

Other folklorists, other theories. These see in the Christmas boar an emblem of that other boar of high antiquity who slew Adonis, Venus' lover. As one examines this view more closely, improbabilities diminish. The Romans came to identify Osiris, the Syrian Adonis, so closely with their Bacchus that it was possible for the poet Tibullus to use both names synonymously for the same divinity, in the same poetical composition. Now light begins to dawn. The hunter who speared the boar was slaying the slayer of the lover of the Queen of Love. He was soliciting the propitious regards of both those divinities. *He* had hospitality to dispense, feasting, and liberal cups, and *she* the hearts of women. Is it astonishing if as many men as were present associated themselves with the sacrifice, and drew the attention of the celestial ones to the boar's head with dance and song, with minstrelsy and joyous outcry? One theory by no means excludes the other. 'Sine Baccho et Cerere, friget Venus.' But to whichever theory we incline, or whether we favour a combination of both, pagan the boar was, and pagan he was to remain, and though the custom became traditional of retaining such ancient ceremonies as were capable of sustaining a



Christian interpretation, the boar was never quite dove-tailed into the scheme of things. His hooves, his bristles, his tusks emphatically were *not* symbolic of faith, or hope, or charity! He survived, however, and time made him respectable, a pleasing reminder of antiquity, but withal rococo! The Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, have a well-known but curious tradition to account for their giving pride of place to the boar at their Christmas dinner. Long years ago, one of their most cherished students was hard at it, pacing to and fro, poring upon a huge tome of Aristotle by the fringe of Shotover forest. While laudably engaged in combining culture with fresh air, he heard a disquieting sound behind him, and turning his head, perceived a hideous wild boar in the act of charging upon him with wide open jaws. In the person of this young student the characteristics of man of thought and action were united in the happiest equipoise. No need to wait the onrush. The monster was upon him. With a shout of 'Graecum est!'—'It's Greek!'—he thrust Aristotle deep down into the Vandal's jaws, and choked him with erudition!

The cult of the Yule Log recalls unmistakably—amongst a fusion of other cults—that of the sacred, undying flame which it was the office of the Vestal Virgins to tend in ancient Rome. In Normandy now, or, at least, until shortly before the Great War, the log was still associated with the state of maidenhood. Before a light was put to the fire, the prettiest young girl in the company was invited to take her seat on it, when honour was shown her by drinking her health. Although this was not, so far as we know, an English custom, yet native ceremonial retained two at least of the elements of that older fire worship. The partially consumed log was never allowed to burn out. It was deliberately quenched, and then set aside to be religiously preserved throughout the year, as a charm against lightning, the 'Fiend,' witchcraft, and ill luck. It used further to be believed that tending the log with dirty fingers prevented it from burning brightly. The girl, therefore, who laid the fire was counselled to wash her hands before touching it. Here we have two instances of the ancient conception of the sanctity of flame, and—could it be established that the Vestals washed their hands before feeding the flame

—an actual fragment of that older ritual! Another custom which our ancestors were religious in observing was that of never lighting the new log except from the charred remains of the old. Here the perpetuity which was the pre-eminent characteristic of that flame of the Vestals is symbolically preserved. While the log was kindling, such of the villagers as were skilled in music played their instruments, while the hostess bade all present be free of the strong and honest English ale. Herrick is so explicit that I make no scruple of quoting his brisk and lively yule-log lyric in its entirety.

*'Ceremonies for Christmas.'*

'Come, bring with a noise,  
My merrie merrie boyes,  
The Christmas Log to the firing ;  
While my good Dame, she  
Bids ye all be free ;  
And drink to your heart's desiring.

'With the last yeeres brand  
Light the new block, And  
For good successe in his spending,  
On your Psalties play,  
That sweet luck may  
Come while the Log is a-teending [kindling].

'Drink now the strong Beere,  
Cut the white loafe here,  
The while the meat is a-shredding ;  
For the rare Mince-Pie  
And the Plums stand by  
To fill the Paste that's a-kneading.'

The custom of pouring libations of wine upon the log, though one does not read of it as obtaining in England, was almost within living memory practised in Provence, and perhaps obtains there yet in the less frequented districts. The poet Mistral, of whom Daudet gives us a delightful sketch in his 'Letters from my Mill,' informs us thus his father poured wine upon the Christmas log, with considerable ceremony. What god was originally honoured thus it is impossible, I imagine, now to determine. Libations were poured to Bacchus both by Greeks and Romans. The lover in Theocritus

pours out a libation of unmixed wine to Eros (Love). It seems improbable that the household gods of the ancient Romans were recalled unconsciously in this 'baptising of the log,' as it has anachronistically been called, since they were propitiated with fruit, wheat, and garlands of flowers, but not with wine. Their festival, in Rome at least, took place in May, and would hardly be commemorated at so opposed a season as December. The number of draughts of wine poured upon the log was three, and this made it possible for the mediæval Church to allow the custom to be perpetuated, so long as it was clearly understood that the rite was practised in honour of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. Another curious custom deriving from a pagan libation is that, long practised in the cider counties of England, of 'baptising' fruit trees with Christmas wassail. This hearty brew was compounded of hot ale, apple-pulp, sugar, cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg or other spices. The practice was as follows. The farmer, followed by all his family, would head a procession into the orchard, and bear the steaming bowl. A giant clatter was raised by the household, who would beat upon pans and kettles, or even fire guns, to bespeak the pixie's attention to the honour about to be conferred. The farmer would then liberally sprinkle the tree and with the following traditional rhyme explain the rite :

'Apple-tree  
We wassail thee,  
And blow now,  
And grow now,  
And happy may we be !'

Of this ditty there are many versions. A piece of toast soaked in the spiced and steaming ale was then placed in the fork of a bough, the pixie's portion, in addition to the liquid with which his tree had been washed. To this custom also Herrick refers, and tells us that

'more or lesse fruits they will bring,  
As you doe give them Wassailing.'

Men have always been superstitious about *lights*. The idea that to give light from your house between Christmas and New Year's Day is unlucky, can be traced back to Roman times. In the eighth century St Boniface

referred to this superstition as current amongst the citizens. Perhaps the fancy was connected with those household spirits, the Lares and Penates already referred to. These tutelary deities watched over the home and its inmates, and received offerings of incense. Their symbol, carved before their feet at the base of their statuettes, was a dog, *barking*, as emblematic of their vigilance. Together with a blazing brand, the donor might, at this sacred season, convey away unwittingly the spirits of the hearth-gods themselves, and in so doing transfer to strangers the protection which they had previously afforded him and his.

The origins of some Christmas beliefs elude research and fairly lose themselves in the 'dark backward and abysm of Time.' Why, for example, should oxen converse together upon Christmas Eve, as it is agreed that they do? Are they devoutly recalling the manger at Bethlehem, and the Child who was laid between an ox and an ass? So it has been explained, but not satisfactorily, for in this case the gift of speech would be limited to asses and oxen, but in popular legend other beasts speak also. But forbear to play the eavesdropper! It is unlucky in the extreme to assist at these bovine reunions—and, indeed, at all foregatherings where the brute creation finds itself conversationally disposed. And why? Beasts are credited with a knowledge of futurity which, for their peace of mind, a merciful Providence has withheld from their masters. Here is a grim happening which befell long since a close-fisted old crone in her village in Brittany. A hoard of good gold pieces had she amassed, but kept them locked in her chest, not for spending, but to feast her eyes upon them in her avarice, and to watch them trickle through her fingers by moonlight, while her honester neighbours slept. One Christmas Eve, having locked her dog and cat in an empty garret together, she made as though to retire to rest, but indeed it was only to play as usual at her evil game, hugging her money bags to her lean bosom as though they had been children, and taking up great fistfuls of gold. But before midnight struck from the church tower, she had locked all up again, hidden her treasure chest beneath a pile of old rotting sacks and greasy rags, and there she was at the key-hole, a grey, dishevelled wisp of a woman, in her

slipperd feet, her left heel treading down the heel of the worn left shoe and her great toe showing through a hole in the right. Midnight tolled. Would they talk? And what would they talk about? They would *not* talk! It was all a legend, an old wives' tale. Hark! It *was* true, then! With beating heart she stood close, close by the key-hole. The cat was speaking, addressing the dog. 'A fine life this, by my truly! I think we are like to die of sheer starvation, with a miser for our mistress!'

'Yet you are in pleasanter plight than I, bad though it be,' returned the dog, 'for I never had the trick of catching mice, and with a mouse or so now and again you can at least keep soul and body together.'

'Not so much as you think, my old friend! The mice have grown weary of coming here; I haven't set eyes on so much as the tail of one these last three days. They know by this time that our mistress never so much as lets a crumb go to waste. No, I see nothing but famine ahead for both of us.'

'Well, it couldn't last, and as you know, it *will* not last. "Time brings roses," they say. The worst is over for both of us.'

'But you will defend her, bad mistress though she has been? Were *I* in your case, I should not stir a claw for her!'

'Would that I could! Would that I could defend her, for fighting, you know, is my trade. Were I in good case, they should see the mettle I am made of! But I have been so starved in this execrable hovel that I can hardly keep upright on my four legs! And then my bark has lost all its old lustiness; no, they would laugh at me; I am good for nothing now.'

'Well,' said the cat, 'they will not trouble their heads about *us*.'

The eavesdropper's eyes grew wide with terror. What was this mischief of which she knew nothing and her animals, it seemed, everything?

'I hope they won't make too much noise,' the cat continued, in a calm, level tone of voice, 'because I want to sleep. I want to very much. But it will be most disturbing. They will rifle the chest, and if the old woman screams, they will break her head.'

The crone fled like a shadow. She would seek help from the neighbours. Stealthily, she opened the door. Three men approached through the brambles and tall nettles of the garden, pushed roughly past her, and entered the house. She screamed, and to silence her screams the foremost turned about and broke her head with his cudgel.

Upon Christmas Eve bees sing in their hives. Why who shall determine? But I would risk all manner of ill luck to make one of the audience! What ravishing lyrics they would sing, these little velvet minstrels, strains haunting and exquisite, and for ever beyond those of the 'chirring grasshopper and puling fly' who delighted the unsophisticated ear of Herrick's Oberon! Trees bow themselves, at this season of the year, as they did of old when Orpheus played, and those the more demonstratively which stand upon the banks of Jordan. A traveller once, so runs the tale, rode into Lyddon upon a Christmas Eve, and tethered his ass to what he took to be a fallen palm. At sun dawning—alas! The tree had re-erected itself, and the problem now was how to release the frenzied creature who, snorting, plunging, and kicking, swung in peril of his life from the topmost bow! Many are the evergreens which, at different times, have been pressed into service for Yuletide decoration. Laurel, the sacred tree of Apollo, was re-adapted, and now typified triumph, and more particularly the triumph of humanity in the person of the Son of Man. Rosemary was prized by our ancestors in its double capacity as decoration and a charm against evil spirits. Later the shrub began to be associated with the Blessed Virgin, owing, perhaps, to the popular etymologists, who derived the word not from the Latin 'ros' and 'marinus,' which signifies 'dew of the sea,' but incorrectly from 'rosa' and 'Maria,' which they interpreted as 'Mary the Rose.' So late as the latter half of the eighteenth century the choir boys of the collegiate church of Ripon were in the habit of bringing baskets of red apples into church with them, in each of which a sprig of rosemary was stuck. One of these apples was offered to every member of the congregation, and a trifling sum—twopence, threepence, or sixpence—was taken in exchange.

Yew, despite its funereal associations, has often

been employed in Christmas decoration, partly because of its being easy to obtain, in part, too, of its extraordinary durability, but above all owing to the exceedingly picturesque appearance of its red, bird-loved berries. Ivy in Roman days was sacred to Bacchus. Ivy our ancestors believed to be peculiar in conferring good luck upon women, in which connection it may be apposite to recall that the cult of Bacchus was celebrated rather by women than men in classical antiquity. From the celebrations by the priestesses, the celebrated Mænads, men were excluded. Holly, on the other hand, brings luck to men. Holly, taken by the adapters of the early church to symbolise the Crown of Thorns, became inevitably a charm against witchcraft, and Devonshire village girls were said, until quite recent times, to sleep with a sprig of holly beneath their pillows to thwart the mischievous pranks of elves and goblins. Holly likewise gives those who sleep with it blissful dreams. Holly and ivy gave rise in the Middle Ages to a host of pretty songs, some of which are given in modern anthologies. Holly, taken as a man, is opposed to Ivy, who represents a woman, and the two strive, one with the other, in merry rivalry. Sometimes the 'female' holly, the plant in which the spikes of the leaves are soft and pliable, represents the woman. And sometimes the holly is taken as a symbol of constancy, a quality for which no less a personality than King Henry VIII expressed—academic—admiration. His song, for which he composed music, is delightful for its genuine lyric note, which is not to be paralleled in the song-writing of any other poet of his day. Unfortunately, the fact of his being a monarch has led the narrower sort of historical specialists to question the possibility of his being also a bard.

'Green groweth the holly, so doth the ivy,  
Though winter blastés blow never so high!  
Green groweth the holly!

'As the holly groweth green,  
And never changeth hue,  
So I am, ever have been,  
Unto my lady true.

Chorus: Green, etc.



'As the holly groweth green,  
With ivy all alone,  
When flourés can not be seen,  
And greenwood leaves be gone.

Chorus : Green, etc.

'Now unto my lady,  
Promise to her I make,  
From all other, only  
To her I me be take.

Chorus : Green, etc.

'A dew, mine own lady,  
A dew, my special,  
Who hath my heart truely,  
Be sure, and ever shall.

Green groweth the holly, so doth the ivy,  
Though winter blastés blow never so high !  
Green groweth the holly !'

Though we are accustomed to associate mistletoe exclusively with the Druids, yet readers of Virgil know that the golden bough which, at the bidding of Sibyl, the hero Æneas carried as his passport to the underworld and bribe for its Queen, Proserpina, was a branch of this gracious and delicate plant. The mistletoe was regarded, so Virgil tells us in the same passage, as sacred to Juno. Perhaps it is our national love of the 'grand old man,' as a type, which makes the Druid in his white robes and with his long, flowing beard, as he cuts the mistletoe with his golden knife, a figure both romantic and attractive. But their rites, it is alleged, were accompanied by a ferocity which puts them, in this respect at least, on a level little, if at all, above that of the Red Indians of the past. Human sacrifice formed the outstanding feature of the rites at their quinquennial festivals. Their victims were sometimes shot with arrows, sometimes impaled, sometimes burned alive in wicker cages. The Druid priests likewise practised divination by observing the muscular convulsions of captives slain for that purpose. There were also female Druids, who appeared naked at religious festivals with their bodies painted black. It is said that the Romans used every effort to stamp out the druidic human sacrifices, but in the vast

forest land that England then was, their efforts were but partially successful. Druids believed in metempsychosis, and were adepts at hypnotism. The druidic word for mistletoe signifies 'all heal,' and they ascribed to it miraculous virtues. It rendered cattle prolific. It was a specific against every type of then known poison. He who bore it was safe against witchcraft. He could behold spirits and command them to speak. Though it must have taxed the ingenuity of the adapters to bring the magical plant of the Druids into the Christian scheme of things, yet this apparent impossibility was accomplished. It was decided that mistletoe should symbolise the dependence of the human soul upon Heaven, for the mistletoe, fragile plant, clings to the strong, sustaining tree, but severed from it, perishes. The custom of kissing under the mistletoe is thought by some to be a relic of a primitive marriage rite. The druidic kisses were rather ceremonial than amorous, public tokens of amity or reconciliation. Even mortal enemies meeting by chance beneath the sacred bush, were bound to observe truce until the morrow. The plant mistletoe within a house, offered security against the jealousy of the gods.

In Yorkshire and Derbyshire, where mistletoe is scarce, two crossed hoops were sometimes provided as a substitute, and decked with ribands, oranges, and apples. This served as a 'kissing bush.' Three dolls to represent the Holy Family were often added. A superstition connected with kissing under the mistletoe was that the young girl who received no kisses would not marry within the year. A Lancashire custom not yet extinct is that the lover may kiss his lady as many times as there are berries on the bough beneath which the encounter takes place: the lady—no pedantic auditor, let us hope—keeps the tally by removing a berry after every kiss. In Rutlandshire in the old days it was thought unlucky to introduce evergreens into the house before Christmas Eve, for the wood spirits were regarded as irascible and tricky and liable to do the inmates a mischief, unless kept in check by the mystical presence of the Child. In like manner, the evergreens must all be taken down by Candlemas, or the maids will see a goblin for every leaf! The occasional malevolence of

the 'Good People' has been remarked by many learned authors. Queen Mab, so Herrick assures us, will pinch by the toe the maid who will not cleanse her dairy or sweep her house. 'Our fairies,' says the grave Burton, in his 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' 'have been in former times adored with much superstition, with sweeping their houses, and setting of a pail of clean water, good victuals, and the like, and then they should not be pinched, but find money in their shoes, and be fortunate in their enterprises.' And the merry Bishop of Oxford and of Norwich, Richard Corbet, a contemporary of Shakespeare, is no less positive as to the inclination of the fairies, in certain circumstances, to revenge!

'At morning and at evening both  
You merry were and glad,  
So little care of sleep or sloth  
Those prettie ladies had :  
When Tom came home from labour,  
Or Ciss to milking rose,  
Then merrily merrily went theyre tabour,  
And nimbly went theyre toes. . . .

'A tell-tale in theyre company  
They never could endure,  
And whoeso kept not secretly  
Theyre mirth was punisht sure :  
It was a just and christian deed  
To pinch such blacke and blew :  
O how the common welth doth need  
Such justices as you !'

In no country of the world was the ancient custom of decorating with evergreens more practised than in England, and this is understandable. From the very dawn of our history until the advent of the industrial age, the interests of Englishmen were concerned rather with the life of the fields than that of cities. This it was that gave the Englishman that air of robust health upon which foreign writers comment, and which to-day he has forfeited by exchanging beef and ale for water and tinned salmon, and blue skies for smoke. Until the great Civil War, followed by the dismal epoch of Puritan rule, there was much public decoration in our cities, after the manner of the ancient Romans. There were

in those days no silent streets, no closed taverns at Christmas, but every street presented a festive appearance and swarmed with joyous crowds. Here is a quaint description from Stow of that earlier London :

'Against the feast of Christmas, every man's house, as also their parish churches, were decked with Holme, Ivy, Bayes, and whatsoever the season of the year afforded to be green. The Conduits and Standardes in the streets were likewise garnished, amongst which I read in the year, 1444, that by the tempest of thunder and lightning, on the first of February, Paul's steeple was fired, but with great labour quenched, and toward the morning of Candlemas day, at the Leaden Hall in Cornhill, a Standard of Tree [wood] being set up in midst of the pavement fast in the ground, nailed full of Holme and Ivy for disport of Christmas to the people, was torn up, and cast down by the malignant spirit—as was thought—and the stones of the pavement all about were cast in the streets, and into divers houses, so that people were sore aghast of the great tempest.'

The great Civil War and triumph of the Puritans was to bring this ancient custom of Christmas decoration, with how much more that was both innocent and beautiful, to an abrupt end, and form with an historic past, a severance never destined to be bridged. The year 1647 saw a Christmas that was 'Presbyterian true blue.' The all-powerful Puritans had decreed that the age-old feast should be converted into a national fast !

'Plum broth was popish, and minced pie,  
Oh, that was flat idolatry !'

But as the Londoners were not all of a mind with the civic authorities, the more venturesome, defying the 'Dora' of that day, decorated the fronts of their houses with evergreens, as their ancestors had done from time immemorial. The stare-about upon the cobbles were regaled with a singular spectacle. They beheld their Lord Mayor—why are mayors so often Puritan?—riding along the streets and wrenching away the Christmas decorations with his own pious hands ! Fortunately for the feasters, the deities who preside over good fellowship wrought laughable revenge upon the preposterous renegade. He was no horseman, the fellow, and his beast bolted. The narrow streets re-echoed with his cowardly

and petulant cries of 'Good people, stop the horse!'—an incident drawn upon with humorous effect by a loyalist pamphleteer, who took occasion to observe that 'the pulling down of holly and ivy was an act his very horse was ashamed of.' Had the 'holy maire,' as this gentleman calls him, lived beyond this mortal span, indulged with such longevity as fell to the lot of the Wandering Jew, he might have visited, in the eighteenth century, the village church that was in the patronage of Sir Roger de Coverley. He would have been appalled by the reappearance of those evergreens which he supposed had been banished from England for ever.

'Our clerk, who was once a gardener, has this Christmas so overdeck't the church with greens that he has quite spoilt my prospect. . . . The middle aisle is a very pretty shady walk, and the pews look like so many arbours on each side of it. The pulpit itself has such clusters of Ivy, Holly, and Rosemary about it that a light fellow in our pew took occasion to say that the congregation heard the Word out of a bush like Moses.'

But Sir Roger was what to-day we should call a 'die-hard,' a Tory in grain, one who would not put up for the night at an inn where they assured him that the landlord was a Whig. Christmas with eighteenth-century Sir Roger was the Christmas of pre-Puritan days. There was perhaps something already a little archaic about it. Certainly he still possessed the 'old bountiful mind' cried up by balladists of pre-Reformation tradition. The knight killed eight fat hogs, and made presents of their chins to poorer neighbours, sent a pack of cards to every indigent family in his parish, and dispensed strong ale, beef, and mince-pies to whomsoever chose to call for them. Yes, the mince-pie, anathema to Puritans, was once again in honoured evidence! All the old 'gambols' were back, and with them doubtless 'mummers.' The origin of mummeries, not yet extinct in some of our obscurer villages, despite the breach with tradition caused by the Great War, can be traced back to an epoch astonishingly archaic.

Before the Greeks had adopted and refined his worship, priests of the earlier Thracian Dionysus are believed, as part of the ritual, to have assumed women's clothes. The travestying of boys as girls, and vice versa, was an

integral part of Christmas mummings in the Middle Ages. Further characteristics of this primitive cult are the sacrifice of a human victim to Dionysus, with possibly cannibalistic rites. The god was believed at certain seasons to enter spiritually the body of a beast, his animals of predilection being goats and bulls. Sometimes, it is believed, the priest would seek to obtain the qualities of the god by garbing himself in the hide and mask of a bull. During the Roman Saturnalia there was a traditional custom by which—following, perhaps, unknown to themselves, the ritual of the Thracian Dionysus—Roman masqueraders disguised themselves in the masks of beasts. Many mediæval illuminations show us mummers disguised in the heads of beasts, prominent amongst which are sure to be those of goats and bulls. The travesty of the young fellows in girls' costumes, and the reverse, girls in boys' clothing, was part of the regular ritual of the burlesque of the Christmas 'Feast of Fools.' At Norwich in 1640 they held the last Christmas pageant of which we have any detailed account before the final ascendancy of Puritanism. A King of Christmas rode through the streets, followed by a train which included 'some in skin dresses, counterfeiting bears, wolves, lions, etc., and endeavouring to imitate their voices.' An early Greek hymn refers to Dionysus as 'noble bull,' and a fragment of a poem by Æschylus speaks of masqueraders who 'speak with the voice of bulls'! In the mumming still practised a character is killed and resuscitated by one 'Dr Brown,' who carries an immense box of pills. As a god of vegetation, Dionysus was immediately concerned with the passing away of winter and beginning of the spring. In the still extant Christmas mumming we have two elements which recall his cult. The bird or beast travesty; the urchin who speaks the prologue, does so in the character of 'Robin Redbreast.' A victim sacrificed; in primitive times this was done for the purpose of conciliating the spirits of the underworld, of speeding by their agency winter's departure, and bringing in the wished-for season of vines and crops. Winter is killed and revived as spring by the simple magic of Dr Brown with his box of pills!

KENNETH HARE.

Art. 4.—WILL ENGLISH BE THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE? ✓

*A Short History of English Words.* By Bernard Groom. Macmillan, 1934.

THE above-named is a fascinating guide to the intelligent use of the English Dictionary, being a sketch of our great vocabulary from the earliest times, which is intimately bound up with our history and its contact with other nations. The subject has never before been treated quite on these lines. Among the great writers who have been instrumental in making our language what it is, Chaucer stands pre-eminent, for to him it was due that the East Midland dialect became our standard speech. To Spenser we owe much of our poetic diction. 'But language makes the poet,' as our author says, 'no less than the poet makes the language.' This was well exemplified in the Elizabethan efflorescence of English. The fluid condition of the language enabled Shakespeare and others to clothe their thoughts with a fitting dress. They could manipulate it as they wished. All this and a hundred other aspects of the subject are brought out in this work. Intensely interesting are the words borrowed from nearly every important language of the world, and not less so the coinage of individuals, such as Mr Shaw's 'superman,' Carlyle's 'windbag,' Milton's 'lovelorn,' Wyclif's 'zeal,' Coleridge's 'relativity.' 'Incarnadine,' however, is not Shakespeare's invention, as supposed; it occurs in Bury's 'Philobiblion,' ch. viii. To conclude, Mr Groom quotes the wonderful prophecy of our Daniel, written in 1599, which could so well stand as a motto to 'English as the Universal Language.'

And who (in time) knows whither we may vent  
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores  
This gain of our great glory shall be sent,  
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?  
What world in th' yet unformed Occident  
May come refin'd with th' accents that are ours?

Some forty years ago the present writer discussed in a current magazine the question of a Universal Language, and pointed out the possibility, or rather probability,



that our own English tongue was destined to be the second language, which all other nations would gradually learn to use as a medium of communication between themselves. The veritable need of some such language was even then becoming increasingly evident. It is much more so now, when the League of Nations has brought the representatives of so many countries together to discuss problems that concern them all.

Time was when the gifted Greek called every one else, who spoke another tongue, a barbarian, which, like Berber, is an onomatopœic word, denoting one who utters unintelligible sounds like 'bar,' 'bar,' such as we denominate jabber or gibberish. In very early days men of two tongues, though necessary as interpreters—and 'dragoman,' a go-between who acted such a part, appears to be an Assyrian or Babylonian term—were a comparative rarity. We are not in a position to judge how far the speech represented by cuneiform writing penetrated, but it had considerable vogue. We cannot be wrong, however, in thinking that the Phœnicians were the first people, owing to their extensive foreign trade, to spread a knowledge of their native tongue through all the coastlands which they visited, and it is probable that a debased form of their language became current along all the Mediterranean borders, much in the same way as the so-called *Lingua Franca*, a corrupt form of Italian. One word of this language we have, it seems, inherited from them, viz. *Gorilla*, a confused legacy of Hanno's *Periplus*. The Phœnicians have generally been considered as the originators of our modern alphabets, though other theories have been mooted. But the Semitic languages were not well adapted for international use, whereas Greek, which was pre-eminently so, came near to being established as the Universal Language by the conquests of Alexander and the organised consolidation of his empire. This might have come to pass had he lived twenty or thirty years longer, as he might well have done. But, even as it is, while Christianity permeates the world, the Greek, at least of the New Testament, and as utilised in the vocabulary of science, must remain a known tongue to all cultured persons.

The advent of Rome on the stage of history and her rapid domination of the civilised world naturally carried

Latin as the imperial tongue to the farthest regions of the earth, and on the decay of the Roman empire its predominance was continued and established by the hegemony of the imperial city as the religious centre for all Christians. Consequently Latin became in a sense the political language of intercommunication, though it was not so well adapted for the purpose as Greek, nor in itself so perfect a language. Yet Greek was not wholly supplanted till the Moslem conquests swept over its fairest provinces, and Latin remained in possession, with Arabic taking the second place. Even after it had ceased to be a living tongue, and become the mother of derivative languages such as Italian, Spanish, Roumanian and French, it retained its hold as a literary tongue. Scholars, scientists, jurists, such as Casaubon, Linnæus, Grotius, of whatever nationality, and, above all, theologians, could not but employ it as a vehicle for putting what they wished to say before the world. To our own day it has been the most useful medium for annotating the classical authors, enabling an Orelli or a Poppo to be intelligible even to schoolboys, where a Ritschl or a Wilamowitz would in their native tongue be no more current than Hebrew. Cambridge men will remember that the eminent scholar Shillito was to the last loth to surrender the use of Latin for critical notes.

This being the past history of that noble language, it needs little demonstration that Latin still has many points in its favour as a candidate for the position of a universal language, in its colloquial, that is, rather than its classical form; and there are not wanting those who at this time advocate its recognition as such. Owing to its use in the Roman Communion it is current on the Continent among all persons of culture to the extent of being as a last resource a possible, if rather inadequate, means of communication. Most schoolboys retain a little of the Latin drilled into them for so many years at school, and can scrape up enough of this to be just intelligible in dog-Latin. We know from his 'Letters from High Latitudes' that Lord Dufferin on one occasion made an impromptu and impish after-dinner speech in the doggiest of dog-Latin to his Icelandic hosts, though it seems to have been not very well taken. As an attempt to familiarise the public with Latin of the Mediæval or

Erasmic type it may be mentioned that towards the close of the nineteenth century two newspapers in that language were issued, one a serious and rather heavy production called 'Nuntius Latinus Internationalis' and the other a comic periodical, called 'Post Prandium,' consisting of illustrated jokes from American comic papers translated into Latin and—save the mark—explained! But these did not 'catch on,' and soon ceased to appear.

Though these attempts to instal Latin again have failed, yet the fact remains that Latin has much to be said for it, as a solution of the language problem, owing to its lucidity, conciseness and precision, and moreover it starts with the advantage not only of being in a way familiar to all educated people, but of entering so largely into the structure of most modern languages. Owing to its 'monumental' excellence it is especially fitted for inscriptional and dedicatory purposes, for which it is still not wholly discarded. So impressed was Bacon with the superiority of Latin, that he wrote the great work of his life in that tongue, and confidently believed that thus he would give it the best chance of immortality, as rendering it intelligible to all persons and nations in the future.

In any case, if it could at this eleventh hour be resuscitated in a modernised form, it would serve its purpose much better than the brand-new, wholly artificial, robot language, invented by individuals, mostly in the last fifty years. The best known of these are Volapük and Esperanto. The first of these was invented by a German, Schleyer, in 1879, and made its public appearance in Paris seven years later. It is built up chiefly on the English and German languages, simplified and curtailed. Though it was blessed and recommended by the London Philological Society, it made little way, and when Esperanto, devised by Dr Zamenhof, a Pole, was published very soon after, Volapük rapidly declined in favour, and left Esperanto master of the field. These languages made to order are easily learnt, being simple, phonetic, and reduced to the lowest possible terms consistent with clearness and precision. But they are like a straight, ugly, cheerless, monotonous, macadamised road, fitted well enough for smoothness and speed, but devoid

altogether of the charm of hollow lanes and grassy paths and flowery verges and trees for delight and shade. Esperanto has even fancied itself competent to produce literature and has brought out versions of parts of Homer, Vergil and Shakespeare; but who in his senses would wish to read these writers in such a fantastic disguise? As the name itself would seem to show, Esperanto has the general appearance of being a cross between Spanish and Italian. Its vocabulary is wisely based upon the commonest and most easily recognisable root words from the chief European languages. But in spite of the enthusiasm of its supporters, who can, however, scarcely number a quarter of a million, and the publicity it gets, there is no real chance of its being adopted, though the League of Nations passed a resolution in its favour in 1926, and has suggested a conference on the question of an international language. Dr Zamenhof admits that it was the fine qualities of English that led him in the first instance to think of a new language based upon its excellences. This idea has since been taken up again in *Ido*, and with less drastic readjustment in *Anglic*, but English itself with a minimum of mutilation will answer all requirements.

After this preliminary survey of the question we can now give the go-by to any hope of a synthetic and artificial language being able to solve our problem in any satisfactory manner, for it is becoming more accepted every day that one of the great current languages of the world, especially with certain minor modifications, would in every way be more suitable for our purpose. The labour of acquiring it would be amply repaid by the learner inheriting, as a bonus, a splendid and to him new literature. We have only to consider which of the living languages best merits the coveted honour by its intrinsic excellence, its present diffusion, and its general adaptability to the modern mind.

We have already reviewed and rejected the claims of the dead languages. For the new generation they are unfortunately becoming more and more unknown and unintelligible. 'De mortuis nil nisi bonum': 'for the dead languages,' as an Eton witticism has it, 'there is nothing like Bohn.' No one would dare to quote Latin in Parliament nowadays. Was not the last instance,

when a Conservative member in derisive sympathy quoted, against the misguided and crestfallen followers of Gladstone, 'O passi graviora deus dabit his quoque finem'? Before turning to the only real competitors among European tongues, we must not omit to mention Arabic as the only Oriental language which has attained a vogue at all comparable to Greek and Latin. Owing to its vital connection with Islam, the creed of so many millions of believers and so many wide areas, Arabic has become one of the great languages of the world, with the Koran as its corner-stone and the source of its inspiration. But Arabic, indispensable as it is in many parts of the world, obviously cannot become more widely spread than now, even if it does not shrink with the decay of Mohammedanism, for Islam is a lost cause. Even last year (1934) the go-ahead government of Turkey, under Kemal, decreed that English shall be the principal foreign language taught in its new schools.

There remain four European languages to be considered, Spanish, German, French and English, as candidates for the supreme honour of being the universal one. The only other languages which are spoken over wide areas, viz. Russian and Chinese, are clearly unsuitable for world-wide use. Of the above four we cannot say but that Germany might have made a bid for supremacy had she won the world war, but with her defeat in that critical conflict she has lost her chance. Spanish, which so narrowly and fortunately shook off the strangle-hold of Islam, is one of the finest, stateliest and most sonorous of European tongues, having moreover a very extensive vogue in South America, and is eminently fitted in itself to be a world language; but Spain, since the palmy days of its world-power, has sunk to such a low place among the nations, that it cannot aspire to imposing its choice Castilian accents on the more virile and dominating nations of the Continent.

Our choice is therefore now reduced to the two old rivals, French and English. At first sight, in a Frenchman's eyes, granting that some existing language can and should be crowned as the sovereign speech, there is no room for doubt that French is the only suitable and predestined claimant. For two centuries indeed it rode rough-shod over its only rival in its own country and

tried to stamp out our native tongue. It was Edward I, the noblest of our hereditary Kings, and the first since the Conquest with an English name, who more than any other by his adoption of English as the language of the Government and the Court saved it to become what it is. But on the Continent and abroad French went on from strength to strength, and gradually became the language of fashion, a 'courtly foreign grace,' which all the more civilised members of other nations felt bound to acquire, and was established as the language of diplomacy all the world over, for both which purposes it undoubtedly has special qualifications. It is eminently clear, sparkling, and epigrammatic. In the turning of a compliment or the pointing of an insult, it is unsurpassed. It is a perfect instrument in the mouth of a diplomatist who has to 'lie abroad for the good of his country.' But in all the nobler qualities of language, sonorousness of expression, wealth of meaning, adaptability to the highest forms of poetry and the deepest outpourings of prayer, it is immeasurably inferior to English. This is (in part) amusingly and instructively brought out by Father Chiniquy, a French-Canadian (converted to Protestantism), in an interview reported at the time in the 'Montreal Daily Witness.' He seemed to think that the French Canadians of his day were beginning to give up the use of French in public, but such a result is by no means yet apparent, and he describes a visit from a French Canadian, who began by speaking to him in English. When Father Chiniquy said to her, 'Mais ne pouvez-vous pas parler français?' she answered, 'O, mon Dieu, est-ce que je parle anglais?' Father Chiniquy went on:

"There is a reason for it. I read recently an article in a magazine about 'English the Universal Language' [very possibly the one mentioned at the beginning of this paper], but the writer did not know the true reason. I am in the midst of it (*sic*), and I know. It is because the speaker can express himself with greater ease in English." I suppose, said the Interviewer, you mean those who hear more English than French. "Not at all," said M. Chiniquy, "I also can express myself with greater ease in English. Its expression is more direct, its syntax more simple, and the sounds of the language more forcible. Listen," said he, as he jumped to



his feet and shouted "'Fire!' That is some sound, but what can we say in French? 'Feu!' It is lost. You can say 'Ready!' in a most sonorous shout; in French it is 'Pret'—there is no sound. 'All aboard' [American for 'take your seats!'] With us it is 'Embarquez,' which you cannot hear at 10 feet. Yes, sir, English is bound to become the Universal Language."

This is a valuable pronouncement from an unexpected quarter.

Here, with no wish to be frivolous, but for mere delight, it may perhaps be allowed us to quote a very similar reflection on German as contrasted with English. Mark Twain, in his inimitable appendix to 'The Tramp Abroad' on the German language, remarks that

'the description of any loud stirring noise must be tamer in German than in English. Our descriptive words of this character have such a deep, strong, resonant sound, while their German equivalents seem so thin and mild. Boom, burst, crash, roar, storm, bellow, blow, thunder, explosion; howl, cry, shout, yell, groan; battle, hell. These are magnificent words; they have a force and magnitude of sound befitting the things which they describe. But their German equivalents would be ever so nice to sing the children to sleep with. Would any man want to die in a battle which was called by so tame a term as *Schlacht*?'

He also draws attention to the 'bird-song word *Gewitter* for a storm,' and says the strongest German word for 'explosion' is *Ausbruch*. 'Our word "toothbrush" is more powerful than that. *Hölle* (hell) sounds more like *helly* than anything else. If a man were told in German to go there, could he really rise to the dignity of feeling insulted?'

The *amour propre* of France, a very sensitive characteristic, was not a little wounded when the astronomers of the world so readily accepted the meridian of Greenwich as the scientific meridian for the world. But she has imposed her metrical system with its jargon of Gallicised Greek on all nations including ourselves, who, as Piazzi Smyth pointed out, have a truer and more scientific unit of measurement in the inch, and she must rest satisfied with that deplorable achievement. But the sceptre of language has passed for ever from her grasp, and has



become beyond all doubt the heritage of the English-speaking races. Three-quarters of a century ago that shrewd judge of current topics, Walter Bagehot, put the matter clearly, if somewhat unkindly, into the nutshell phrase, 'French is the patois of Europe, while English is the language of the World.' No ambition on our part, no organised efforts to seize such a sovereignty has brought about this long-foreseen result, but simply the course of events and the spread of the English-speaking peoples and their dominant place in the world.

It remains now to show the impregnable position in which English stands, and to touch briefly upon the developments which it has undergone in the process of attaining that position, and what it may be destined to become in the future. To begin with, it is spoken by at least twice as many mouths as any other European speech, while French is not even a runner-up in this race, being outpaced probably by German and certainly by Russian. English continually gains ground in many ways. English and American travellers pervade the Continent, and there are few hotels or better class of shop where English, or at least 'English as she is spoke,' cannot be counted on with certainty. Our countrymen have now little need of that racy 'continental English' which Kinglake in his 'Eothen' so humorously describes. As far back as 1904 English was made an optional subject in the public schools of Saxony. This was due largely to a petition addressed by the Dresden Schoolmasters' Association to the Government Inspectors of Schools, in which it was affirmed that English was the most widely-used civilised language in the world, being also the most important language for Germany's international trade. It was also pointed out that English deserves preference over French on account of its literature, which excels that of France both from the artistic and moral point of view, besides appealing more nearly to the German sentiment and understanding owing to its having played a prominent part in the development of German literature. Finally, in speaking of the educative value of English, it emphasised the fact that it was more easily learnt owing to the comparative simplicity of its grammar.

In 1908 the Educational Department of Berlin made the teaching of English compulsory in the three upper

Forms of the Municipal College, and French optional, thus reversing the rule previously in force. A correspondent to the Press (Mr S. H. Ford) recorded an experience of his on board a German steamer in the course of conversation with a member of the German Consular Service, who, when our informant had occasion to remark that it was a pity there was no universal language, said rather bitterly, 'There is already a universal language, and there is no need for another. It is English.' He adds that on an Italian steamer he was seated at a table with two doctors, an Italian and an Austrian, who talked medical 'shop'—in English. On a later occasion, on a Danish boat he heard a Frenchwoman and a Japanese having a long and amusing talk—in English. In 1903 again another correspondent (Edward Stevens) stated that on a German steamer in which he travelled the ordinary routine was, naturally, conducted in German, but while they were discharging or receiving cargo in a foreign non-British port all was done in English, and it was entertaining to hear a German *bo'sun* and Italian *stevedore* swearing at one another like two English navvies. This traveller adds that in the South Sea Islands he had heard natives of different tribes conversing in English as a tongue common to both parties.

It is the same whatever part of the world we take. Dr Landsell, writing just fifty years ago, says that to speak English was becoming more and more fashionable in Russia and Siberia than to speak French as heretofore. 'On peut,' said his informant, winging his shaft against the French Eagle with its own feathers, '*oublier maintenant le Français pour apprendre l'Anglais.*' He goes on to say that the Russians preferred English for use in telegrams, as conveying more meaning in fewer words. Even in the northern wilds of Siberia, rarely indeed visited by civilised men, we learn from the Swedish expedition of 1878, that out of more than 1000 natives whom the crew had met there was not one who did not know a few English words. The favourite English classic among Russians in those days was, curiously enough, Milton. No doubt the advent of the hideous Soviet tyranny has now suppressed our language in all that quarter of the world.

To proceed with our survey, omitting all mention of

India, where of course English, since Macaulay's educational reforms, has spread with unexampled swiftness, we come to the most wide-awake and progressive of Oriental peoples, the Japanese, who from very early days adopted our language wholesale. We learn from Sir Edwin Arnold, in his address at the centenary dinner of the Royal Literary Fund, that the sign-boards of the shops and the names of towns and villages are very generally inscribed in both English and Japanese. In 1907 the German papers lamented the fact that the teaching of German in Japan had greatly diminished, while the number of students of English had been more than doubled. Sir Edwin added that in his journey home from Japan he found numbers of Chinamen, Malays, Cingalese, Arabs and Egyptian fellaheen who spoke good English, which was rapidly becoming the chief means of communication over the Continent of Africa. Dr Blyden, a coloured man from Liberia, tells us that everywhere on the coast of Africa, English had driven out all other languages. Even in the French colony of Gaboon it was asserting itself against French; even in the German Cameroons it was dividing the honours with German. It has no great rival in Africa except Arabic. Portuguese was the dominant language on the West Coast for many years, but by this time English was spoken throughout from Sierra Leone to the San Pedro River, a distance of 800 miles. The Nile, the Niger, the Great Lakes and the Zambesi are already, and the Congo will eventually be, permeated with our English speech. Remarkable testimony has been given by the Linguaphone Institute of the eagerness of foreign countries to learn the English language. Though the Institute gives lessons in all the principal languages, the overwhelming demand is for English. Of the orders from Berlin 75 per cent. are for English; from France, Italy and Belgium 85 per cent.; from Holland 10-15 per cent. less. The Swiss, Poles, Spain, Czechoslovakia, India and Dutch East Indies ask almost entirely for English. Every year in the Scandinavian countries at least 32,000 people begin to learn English by the Linguaphone method.

To return for a moment to Japan, it was a veritable sign of the times that the negotiations for the surrender of Port Arthur in the Japanese War with Russia were

carried on in English. In the course of these the question of parole for the Russian officers was raised, and as consent had to be obtained from the Tsar, a telegram required to be despatched. The Japanese allowed this, but only if it was clearly expressed in English, and in that language it was sent by General Stoessel. Even China, though a far more conservative nation than Japan, shows increasing signs of a movement towards English as a second language. Twenty years and more ago the famous missionary and sinologue, Dr Morrison, considered it as largely true that the Chinese, while requiring to be paid to learn all other languages, were willing to pay to learn English. In 1910 the Throne, on the recommendation of the Board of Education in Peking, decreed that for scientific and technical education English should be the official language, and it was made compulsory at all such schools. The Government has, it seems, recently made efforts to suppress the so-called 'pidgin' English, in favour, we may suppose, of a correct use of our tongue. The word 'pidgin' comes from an abortive attempt of Chinese lips to pronounce the word 'business' and it denotes a form of abbreviated English conformed in some ways to Chinese idiom. A specimen may be permitted here :

'Ping-Wing um pie-man son  
 He velly 'orst chilo all' Can-tón ;  
 He stole um mother picklum mice  
 An' thlowee cat in bilin l(r)ice.  
 Den chow-chow up, "an' now," talk he,  
 "My wonda wha him meeow-cat be !"

This, interpreted, means Ping-Wing the pie-man's son Was the very worst boy in all Cantón ; He stole his mother's pickled mice, And threw the cat in the boiling rice. Then ate her up and 'Now,' said he, 'Me wonder where him meeow-cat be !'

The missionaries have done much to spread our language, especially in China and Africa, and travellers in out-of-the-way regions have done something, but traders have been the most important propagators of English wherever they have penetrated, and where have they failed to go ? But more effective than all other agencies has been the English aptitude for colonisation. When

we consider the future populations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and above all of the United States, we cannot but feel that the English language must eventually become the dominant one all over the world. The mere natural increase of English-speaking people will infallibly bring about this result. Some have indeed been found to maintain that English need not become the language of the whole even of the United States. Others point to the vitality of the slightly antiquated French of the French Canadians, and the still vigorous survival of Welsh, and quite recently the revival of Erse, as reminders that languages die hard. But all this can have no effect upon the main question of a Universal Language. English has in a sense already become the literary language at least of Europe. Professor Vambéry, a Hungarian, published his autobiography first in an English dress; the Dutch author of the 'Sin of Joost Avelingh' issued his novel 'An Old Maid' in English; the author of 'The Crustacea of Norway,' presumably a Norwegian, frankly owns in his 'Advertisement' that to obtain the largest possible circulation for his book it is written in the English language. Dr Oudemans, a Scandinavian, wrote his huge volume on the Sea Serpent in English for the same reason, and no doubt there are other cases of the kind. One such has just appeared in the shape of a book by a Danish authoress, Isak Dinesen, who is said to surpass even Conrad in her mastery of English.

All the evidence we have adduced above shows that not only is English, in its origin the speech of an obscure tribe from the Jutland peninsula, now certainly destined to become the world language, a result due partly to accidental circumstances though more to the character of the people, but is also by general consent admitted to be the best fitted to survive in the struggle for supremacy. If a plebiscite were taken of all the nations on the question, Which is the best language now spoken? who can doubt that, after the first vote had been given to the voter's own speech, the second, as was exemplified in the case of Themistocles, the victor of Salamis, would be given to English? Its composite character, no less than its intrinsic excellence, render it especially suitable for serving as an international language. Though its foundation stones and the mortar that binds them

together are pure Anglo-Saxon, yet there is scarcely an important language, classical or modern, European or Oriental, which has not furnished its quota to perfect and beautify the structure. It has practically no accident, and its syntax is comparatively simple. The main difficulty it presents to a foreign learner is its pronunciation. At a great international conference held in 1929 in Spain at Seville, at which delegates from nearly all the European states were present, and the crying need of a common language was acutely felt, while few were found to look to Esperanto or a modified form of Latin for a solution of the difficulty, a German delegate made the remarkable admission that much consideration had forced upon him the conviction that the needs of the case would be best met by the English language, slightly modified so as to be more easily spoken and understood, the principal change required being in the pronunciation. English, he added, was a living, virile, mobile language. With its roots planted in Latin and Greek, and its assimilation of so many French words, its lingual affinity with German, Dutch and other European languages, it would be most easily adapted to and the most readily accepted by the largest number of people in other nations. This view was shared by many of the Northern delegates.

With respect to the pre-eminent qualities of our language, in which it is inferior, if inferior at all, to Greek alone, little need be said. The mighty genius of Shakespeare found it an adequate instrument to his hand, and the literature which it has created can challenge comparison even with that of Greece. For its excellences it will be enough to quote Jacob Grimm, an impartial authority, who after ascribing to it a veritable power of expression such as perhaps never stood at the command of any other language framed by the lips of men, goes on to say :

‘The English language, which by no mere accident has produced and upborne the greatest and most predominant author of modern times, may with all right be called a world language, and like the English people seems destined to prevail with a sway more extensive even than at present over all regions of the globe, for in wealth, good sense, closeness of structure no other language now spoken deserves to be compared with it.’



Of more modern writers, Dean Inge, than whom there is no greater master of its graces, attributes to it a combination of beauty, precision, and flexibility, while Galsworthy speaks of it as a 'soft speech, pleasant to the ear, varied and emphatic, singularly free from guttural and metallic sounds, restful, dignified, friendly. A blend as it is and a hybrid from two main stocks, it has been tinged by many a visiting word, and has thereby acquired a rich harmony of its own and a vigorous individuality rendering it worthy of any destiny, however wide.' Two hundred years ago Theobald in his Essay on Shakespeare had the judgment and courage to assert that English wanted none of the fundamental qualities of a Universal Language.

Enough has been said to show (1) that it is necessary and inevitable that there should be a common language for international use, and (2) that this language can be none other than the English, in spite of M. Paul le Brun's *non possumus* on behalf of France, who, he says, would never accept any existing national language in this capacity, on the ground that it would favour the nation whose language was chosen and hurt the feelings of the others. And he argues further that English and French (the only competitors) are far too difficult (this is not true of English), nor would either nation wish its language to be radically altered and mouthed in a mutilated form by foreigners. But there would not seem to be any weight in these arguments.

Before concluding our survey of this urgent question two points must be briefly considered. First, what is the present aspect of our language under current conditions, and secondly, what is likely to be its future developments? As to the first point, there can be no doubt that England is not careful enough to preserve the purity of its national speech. We should do well to follow the example of the French and have an Academy to watch and safeguard our language. The principal agencies that are combining to debase and corrupt it are the public press in its less responsible manifestations, not least in its all-pervading 'captions' and slogans (e.g. 'Buy British'), the numerous vulgarities imported from slang and 'sport,' notably 'Rugger' and 'Soccer,' Harrow cum Oxford slang, the latter not even pronounced



according to English rule as Soxer; and the ever-increasing Americanisms, which we will not say contaminate, but rather, infiltrate, our native language. Not less harmful are the activities of the B.B.C. which threaten to stereotype a pronunciation of our words which is neither familiar to the people in general nor endorsed by them. One advantage of English becoming a universal speech is that this will tend to conserve it in its present form.

While treating this aspect of the case, it will not be amiss or unamusing if we give one or two examples of how English is written by natives of Eastern countries. Japanese shop English is sometimes very quaint, and Babu English is a byword. Over a Chinese dairy was the notice, 'Cows milked and re-tailed,' and a baker in Korea placarded himself as 'The best loafer in town.' An Indian, thanking a hospital for curing his wife, added with pathetic inconsequence, 'I will not try to repay you. Vengeance belongeth unto God.' Here are three specimens of English as she is wrote by (1) an Indian Babu, (2) a Levantine Press official, (3) a Chinese aspirant for a post.

(1) To — Esq., MADRAS.

'HONOURED AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—You will please remember me as 5th Grade Clerk in this Office, for which there is no scope to inflate, and after all my education in Madras University, when I passed B.A. in two sittings.

'Now this mental effort demands greater area for abilities, but forsooth am doomed with unlucky star in firmament, and still serve unceasingly in grade 35-50 less income-tax.

'This, Honoured Sir, can never be with qualifications, which are unbounded, must flow into mud stream, where brains are measured by Rs. a.p.

'I have learned much, August Sir, and with tribulation, acquired arts knowing in sciences, such as "the apple must fall to the ground" (Isaac Newton). I am also sitting this long time in spare evening vacation, acquiring the glorious defunct languages in Latin—viz. Abba Father and so forth.

'Now, Reverend Sir, I am what dog says to rat, in tight corner, for domestic troubles come in plural and sometimes triplicate, causing slight earthquakes in Heavenly household when there is shortage of coin, and to add to this my wife doth bring me in annual incremental successions, to the ramification of this generation, and by the Lord there is no end to this mischief.

' You will therefore take notice, Noble Sir, and give me appointment in your Office, where I shall show all things, including my abilities, which are drooping, and which will wither like fragile plant unless watered by your kind patronage in better job carrying more lucre.

' Reply favourably to your humble petitioner, who is straining on beam end, and in duty bound I shall ever pray for long life on your honour's head.'

(2) The next specimen is part of a request from the Press Office of the Levant Fair of Bari, for ' kind publication ' :

' This saturation of the disponible space in the Ample Fair Quarters is verified in the considerable anticipation when we put same in comparison with last year's participations and it is the natural conclusion of the evolutive process of this Institution that finds in the reality of its reasons of existence, the concomitance of the elements that have accelerated the organising proceeding.'

(3) The third sample is a letter addressed by Wang to a Bank Manager at Peking. It is brisk and straight-forward :

' Dear Sir I am Wang. It is for my personal benefit that I write for a position in your honourable Bank. I have a flexible brain that will adapt itself to your business, and in consequence bring good efforts to your good selves. My education was impressed upon me in the Peking University in which place I graduated Number one.

' I can drive a typewriter with good noise and my English is great.

' My references are of good and should you hope to see me they will be read by you with great pleasure.

' My last job has left itself from me for the good reason that the large man was dead. It was on account of no fault of mine. So honorable Sir, what about it ? If I can be of big use to you I will arrive on some date that you should guess. Faithfully yours, Wang.'

As a final example, and one of English, as she should not be written, by an Englishman, is a circular from the Inland Revenue Office, which fully merits Dickens' derisive term of ' The Circumlocution Office.' It is far less intelligible than Wang's effort.

' Where on payment of a dividend, other than such a preference dividend as aforesaid, income tax has, under Rule 20 of the General Rules, been deducted therefrom by

reference to a standard rate for the year in which the dividend became due, the net amount received shall for all the purposes of the Income Tax Acts, be deemed to represent income of such an amount as would, after deduction of tax by reference to the standard rate last mentioned, be equal to the net amount received, and for the said purposes then shall be deemed to have been paid in respect of that income by deduction tax of such an amount as is equal to the amount of tax on that income computed by reference to the standard rate last mentioned.'

Such is official English. On reading this, all we are equal to saying is, with Scott's *Dominie*, 'Prodigious!'

One question in conclusion suggests itself. Every language that lives on the lips of men gradually changes and departs more and more from its original form. How will this affect a speech spoken all over the world by nations accustomed to totally different idioms and structure in their own tongues? Even now English is exhibiting the unique spectacle of a single language with two parallel but differing literatures. Australia will in time add a third; while the spoken speech of the United States and of Canada, both in intonation and vocabulary, tend to diverge more and more from the mother speech. We are accused by Americans of speaking with an accent, and as the American speakers of our language will, as the years pass, vastly outnumber us, their form of English will be able more and more to swamp ours—a result to be deplored but not to be arrested or averted.

What is likely to happen, therefore, may be this. It is the basic literary English, which some have had the hardihood to say is best represented by the better part of the Press, and others, with more justification, by the language of educated women, that will become the International one. It will no doubt change, but very gradually, as the centuries go by, and for the rest there will emerge separate dialects of English, which may diverge so far as to be more intelligible to other inheritors of English. This has happened in China, where an inhabitant of Canton cannot be understood at Peking. However that may be, the speech of Shakespeare and Milton and Bunyan and Macaulay will become, in a sense in which no other language has been so, the language of the whole world.

C. R. HAINES.

## Art. 5.—THE ANGORA LANGUAGE REFORM.

UNTIL recently it has been a conviction—held passionately by members of the educated classes but entertained also by the simple, most strongly entrenched in eastern countries but not altogether unknown in the West—that the dignity of the printed word requires the use of a special terminology not vulgarised and demeaned by use in everyday speech. The Arab seeks to preserve for literary purposes the archaic idiom of the Qoran. The Greek of to-day who is not a member of the society for encouraging the written employment of Romaic \* has invented for the use of his pen a regular vocabulary of words, even for ordinary household things, which his tongue has never been known to utter. Thus, he would like to persuade the stranger that a tramway is τροχιόδρομος when no Greek in his senses calls it anything but τὸ τράμ; that umbrella is ἀλεξίβροχον when it is really ὀμπρέλα; that he speaks of a house as οἶκος, of bread as ἄρτος, of water as ὕδωρ, of brandy as οἰνόπνευμα, when he would never dream, if not posing, of saying anything but σπῖτι, ψωμί, νερὸ and κονιάκ. And, as I say, the intelligentsia do not stand alone in seeking to maintain this position. They are supported quite often by the man in the street or the bazaar who, the less he understands the written language, the more he frequently enjoys it, revelling in the sound of phrases incomprehensible to him as the old lady delighted in that blessed word Mesopotamia. So it was with the Turk. When he changed his status from that of a Siberian nomad to that of a member of an Empire partly European, he found it necessary to make large additions to his vocabulary, for which purpose he borrowed widely from Arabic and Persian. It is true that when these Arabic and Persian words passed into the Turkish language they came under the rules of Turkish grammar and were governed by Turkish inflexions, Turkish declensions, Turkish suffixes and Turkish pronunciation. But, even when enclosed within a Turkish frame, they remained unintelligible to Turks who had not a substantial measure of education, with the exception of a limited number of terms which had passed into daily use and had become

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\* The colloquial as contrasted with the literary form of Modern Greek.

as much an integral part of Turkish as many words of Latin origin have become an integral part of ordinary colloquial English.

The Turk of the old régime bore no resentment against this disguise of his language. In the first place, good Moslem that he was, he could not but approve the enrichment of his tongue by as many words as possible from the holy language of his faith and of the Qoran. He was equally benevolent towards Persian as being *par excellence* the language of poetry and of beautiful literature generally. Secondly, he regarded it as no more than seemly that fine writing and high speaking should not be too easily intelligible to the masses. That a letter to an exalted personage should be couched in the plain speech of the man in the street would have seemed to him highly indecorous. Even in the West does not the legal profession, for example, conceal in the recesses of its mind some such thought as this? 'No Turk,' as Sir Charles Eliot aptly put it, writing at the end of the last century,

'is in the least astonished if he does not understand a composition written in Turkish. He merely respects the author as having a command of choice expressions. He hardly regards literature or writing as a normal part of his life. He expects to understand a story when it is told him, or a business transaction when it is explained to him verbally; but he regards a book or a letter much as an Englishman regards a technical legal document, as a thing he could not possibly write himself, and of which he can only be expected to understand the general drift.'

The complication of the written Turkish resides not only in its choice of words; it resides equally in its style. Compared with the literary efforts of Turkish Court poets, chroniclers and essayists, the prose of Euphues was terse and blunt. These writers sought laboriously for turgid circumlocutions and endless gerundival clauses; it was a point of honour with them to be flowery, magniloquent and obscure. The lawyers were worse. A Qadi of my acquaintance, a dear old gentleman whom I knew and liked well and who was in other respects the simplest of men, once delivered an 'ilam'\* which he regarded as a stylistic *tour de force* and as an object of legitimate

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\* Judgment of a Sheri' (Mohammedan ecclesiastical) Court of Law.

pride. It was of colossal length, covering three foolscap pages of the Qadi's minute handwriting, and it consisted of one sentence, containing only a single verb, which was the last word of the judgment. As in Turkish the main point of a sentence is kept to the last, it was not until the puzzled reader had struggled through the Qadi's interminable gerundives and involved participial constructives to this solitary verb at the bitter end that he could learn in whose favour the judgment was given. It was beautifully fitted together, an ingenious compound of clause within clause as the 'Arabian Nights' are a compound of story within story; and there was hardly a word in the whole document that was of good, honest Turanian origin.

This apparent defeatism on the part of Turkish writers, this lack of confidence on their part in the ability of their tongue to cope with their literary and official needs, this blindness to the real merits of pure Turkish, must be ascribed not only to their veneration for Arabic and their admiration for the beauties of Persian but to the legacy of the Byzantines, who bequeathed to their successors in Constantinople, with other characteristics, the heritage of the inflated phraseology of the Imperial Chrysobulls. It seemed natural to those in whose hands lay the destinies of Turkish *belles lettres* that side by side with the verbal enrichment of the language there should go the enrichment, as they considered it to be, of its style. 'They forgot'—I quote from a leading article in 'The Times' commenting on the Ghazi's reforms—'that Turkish possessed a great capacity for word-formation, and an unusual and attractive system of vowel-harmony. And so the literary language which they built up was a patchwork, in which the patches soon concealed all but fragments of the original fabric. A Persarabian jargon destructive of the growth of any really national literature became the vehicle by which officials, professional letter-writers, historians, and poets confused the obvious.' To employ simple Turkish—'qaba Türkjé,' 'common Turkish,' as it was called—was regarded by them as the act of a vulgar and boorish person. 'Poor Turkish language!' wrote Sir Charles Eliot. 'Smothered under a mass of foreign words, its powers of terse and vivid expression and its wonderfully copious methods of word-formation have

been deliberately stunted and neglected and nothing developed except its capacities for being long-winded and obscure.'

Another mistake made by the Turks—seeing that in the days of their rise to power they were among the protagonists of Islam, it was perhaps an inevitable one—was the adoption of the Arabic alphabet for the purpose of writing Turkish. Now the Arabic alphabet, although to the eye a thing of beauty, is of all scripts the most unsuited to transcribe the Turkish language. It was designed for a language in which there are only three long vowels and in which the consonants have all the importance. Owing to the multiplicity of letters to represent consonants differing only slightly from one another in sound, owing, moreover, to its special grammatical system, rendering a word easily comprehensible even without the vowels being indicated, the Arabic script is wholly suitable for the language for which it was designed. The essence of the Arabic language is a symmetrical method of forming its verbs from a triliteral root, so that, once the meaning of the root is known, the meaning of its many derivatives becomes automatically clear. It is thus possible to decipher even decorative inscriptions, where bold calligraphers at times take liberties to the extent of placing the letters in the order in which they look prettiest rather than in the order in which they are meant to be read. But with Turkish the converse is the case. It is a tongue of few and simple consonants but of a great richness in vowel sounds, and it is thus the last language in the world that should be written in a script possessing the peculiar feature of ignoring the vowels. If it was not quite as laborious for a Turk to learn to read and write his own language when written in the Arabic script as it is for a Chinaman or a Japanese to learn to read and write their languages, even so the use of that script needlessly prolonged the initial stages of his education. It is often difficult to get the meaning of a Turkish sentence written in Arabic letters unless one already knows what the sentence is about; and this was an additional reason for the constant use of Arabic words. In their case, at all events, there could be no doubt as to how the word should be read.

But, notwithstanding the factors which tended to



suppress it, the unhappy Turkish language had not entirely perished. As the spirit of Greek managed to survive in the bold, fresh, natural and vigorous ballads of the Klephts\* despite the efforts of the more sophisticated writers of modern Greek to stifle it beneath their stilted and unnatural Hellenic, so has the undiluted Turkish—concise, forcible, expressive, laconic and a good vehicle for humour—survived in popular songs and stories. This class of literature has supplied the literary wants of the masses and has been more widely circulated by recitation than by the printing press. Its most characteristic product is the classical exponent of Turkish humour, the Khoja Nasr ed-Din Effendi of Aqshehir in Asia Minor, and it includes the dialogues—more funny than refined—associated with the names of Karagyöz and Haji Aivat. This form of literature met with little respect from the exponents of 'fine writing' until the Young Turks, after their successful revolution in 1908, made an effort to rescue the written language from the solemn fatuity into which the Stambuli jargon had degenerated by the end of the Hamidian régime. But it was Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his collaborators who forced the pace and, with the persistent thoroughness which characterises the Government of Angora, imposed the decision that the foreign trappings in which the language had been choked must be thrown off and that true Turkish, by which the Ghazi means Turanian Turkish, must come into its own. And the foreign trappings included not only the Arabic and Persian words but also the Arabic script.

From the point of view of its vocabulary the reform means a change in the Turkish hitherto written, and to some extent spoken, by the educated classes comparable in one sense with the change which would be brought about in English were it to be decided to expel from the language all words of Latin or Romance origin. But in one sense only. English words of Anglo-Saxon origin in our modern speech have departed considerably from their forms in the days of Chaucer, still more from

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\* The Klephts were Greek brigands who assumed a prominent political rôle as open rebels against the Ottoman Government in the Greek War of Independence. Their ballads are the most attractive products of Modern Greek literature.

their forms in 'Beowulf' or the writings of the Venerable Bede. But words of Turkish origin have evolved to a much smaller extent, so that the early Turkish vocabulary wherewith the Ghazi is systematically replacing the Persian and Arabic accretions will not sound unduly archaic in the ears of his people. Fortunately, too, for his purpose he has an ample stock upon which to draw. Early in the present century there was discovered, and was printed in Constantinople in 1914, a manuscript dictionary containing more than 7000 Turkish words explained in Arabic. This dictionary, known by its Arabic title of 'Diwan Lughat at-Turk,' was compiled by one Mahmud Kashgari and completed in 1066, the year of the Norman Conquest. Mahmud Kashgari was, as his name implies, of Turkestani origin, and the vocabulary assembled by him would consist of words used by, or at all event comprehensible to, members of the Turkish race living both to the east and to the west of him. From this valuable corpus and from other sources there had been made, when the second Congress for the purification of the Turkish language was opened by the Ghazi in Dolma Baghché Palace in Constantinople in August 1934, a selection of more than a thousand words of pure Turkish origin to replace an equivalent number of the intruders. Nobody can doubt that this bold experiment not only deserves to succeed but will do so. If the Zionists have succeeded in reviving the Hebrew language, previously dead but for liturgical purposes, as the language not only of the Jewish section of the Palestinian press but of the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, and not only of the Jews long settled in the East but of Jews who until recently have spoken no language but one or other of the languages of Europe, there is no reason why the Turk should not take easily and kindly to what is nothing more than the purification and simplification of his own speech. After all, it was only among the intelligentsia that its hybridisation had been carried to extreme lengths; the peasantry never ceased to maintain it in reasonable purity. For example, I used occasionally to hear, before the War, old peasant women in Asia Minor and Cyprus still clinging to the ancient Turkish 'Tangri' in the place of 'Allah.' Nor can there be any doubt as to the wisdom of substituting the Latin for the Arabic script.

What is perhaps not altogether free from doubt is whether the system of transliteration adopted by the Angora Government is that best suited to the purpose. It is purely phonetic, and a phonetic writing must certainly have its advantages in the peculiar circumstances of the case. But it has also the disadvantage that it ignores etymology and makes it impossible to establish the relationships of words and their derivations. Thus the letter 'k' does duty both for *kef* and *qaf*; 't' for *ta* as well as *te*; 's' is not only *sin* but *sad* and *se*; and so on. A purely phonetic spelling obscures not only the history of a word, it may also obscure its meaning. A cultured Turk predicted to Sir Telford Waugh that the new method of writing it would destroy the Turkish language in ten years.\*

But in their language reforms the men of Angora have their eyes upon a wider field than that inhabited by their own subjects. In the census of 1927, the first general census ever to be taken in Turkey, the population of the Republic, now largely homogeneous, is given as 13,648,000, but the Turks of Turkey constitute only a fraction of the members of the Turkish race. A modern Turkish writer of Russian Tatar origin, professor of the history of law in Angora, estimated in 1930 that the number of Turks in the world then amounted to 51½ millions, of which 12½ belonged to Turkey, 28 to Russia, 5 to Persia, 3½ to China, 1½ to Afghanistan, and 1 million to the Balkan States apart from Turkey in Europe. These figures are no doubt approximate and difficult to check, but it is a matter of fact that Turkish in one form or another is spoken by large bodies of men from the Danube to Diarbekr, from Bulgaria to Bokhara, from the Mediterranean to the borders of Manchukuo. These millions, scattered over this vast area, speak one language, namely Turkish, but it is a Turkish divided into something like fifteen dialects. The differences between these dialects, so far as the unwritten word is concerned, may be likened to the differences between the several Slav languages: between Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian, Slovene and so forth. That is to say, they are mutually intelligible to a greater or lesser degree.

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\* 'Turkey Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow,' London, 1930, p. 275.

Even I was able, within the restricted limits of my knowledge of Osmanli Turkish, to transact business without great difficulty with the Ministers of the former Tatar Republic of Azerbaijan, who used the Aserbajani dialect, during my residence in Transcaucasia. Of these dialects the westernmost, namely the Osmanli, is the most musical and the most refined, but it has also been until now the one most overlaid with foreign words. It looks as if the language reform of Angora, by stripping the written Osmanli of its foreign accretions and by reviving in their place words that in many cases have never ceased to be used in some, at all events, of the Turkish dialects of Russia and Central Asia and beyond, may provide a powerful bond in the not too distant future between important bodies of men spread over a great part of Asia.

HARRY LUKE.

# Art. 6.—THE ANTI-STEEL TRAP CAMPAIGN.

PIONEERS of reform have been confronted with an uphill task throughout the progress of civilisation, and, as a rule, their worst enemy has been custom, which is responsible for public contentment with existing conditions. It is by no means unusual for a highly civilised and intellectual community to indulge in practices which other nations, no further advanced in many respects, regard with horror, the diametrically opposite attitude being merely due to national outlook which in its turn is the result of long-established custom. In this country, for example, the bull-fight and the public execution are regarded as relics of barbarism, yet badger-baiting continues unchecked in all but name, while the use of the steel trap is not only countenanced, but is upon the increase rather than otherwise.

The steel gin is not an ancient institution, although it has now been in general employment for so long a period that it is commonly regarded as an essential asset to the causes of agriculture and game-preservation. To the rabbit-purchasing public, upon whose indirect support its extensive use depends, it is still practically unknown except by hearsay—as a pretext, indeed, for an additional price placed upon ground game taken by such means. Now and again its horrors are depicted upon leaflets circulated by humane societies, but such representations can scarcely prove sufficiently realistic to people who have never heard the screams of the tortured creatures sounding across the stillness of moonlit fields, or experienced the distressing task of extricating the sufferers. Even the landowner who, at the end of the shooting season, commissions his keeper to 'trap' the remaining rabbits, bestows little thought upon the methods that will be employed to achieve this end, and that is, perhaps, the most common attitude towards the steel gin.

Its undesirability may be admitted, but its utility remains unquestionable, and since it is usually represented as 'necessary,' the majority of people prefer not to know too much about it, the tendency to shelve problems that offer no satisfactory solution being only characteristic of human nature. Delicate questions sometimes effect their own settlement, and there was

always the possibility that some new humane invention would eventually meet the case. Nothing that quite satisfied the demand was forthcoming, however, and while those in authority maintained their Micawber attitude, the evil increased rather than diminished. The societies, meanwhile, explored one avenue after another, and as the outcome of endless research and information amassed, have at last succeeded in constructing a case upon the strength of which they hope to effect the total abolition of the gin. So numerous are the issues involved, however, so bewildering and, in many instances, well-founded the conflicting statements, that some exposition of the trapping system now in operation, together with the circumstances under which it developed, may be interesting to those who have been unable to form a definite opinion upon the subject for lack of first-hand knowledge.

The gin is manufactured in various sizes, ranging from the powerful fox-trap to a tiny replica designed for mice or small birds. It is employed for the destruction of many wild creatures in all parts of the country, and within comparatively recent years there has been a continuous tendency to accept its use against rabbits as a *sine qua non*. This applies particularly to the counties from which the principal English markets are supplied, and for this reason the country as a whole is directly concerned with and responsible for any decision that may be reached. Moreover, since rabbits constitute the vast majority of animals trapped in Great Britain, the aspect of the case in this particular connection is of primary importance. A predominant feature of the discussion is the moot question as to whether the trapping system is the outcome of or is mainly responsible for the super-abundance of rabbits in those localities where the custom prevails, and as usual in controversial matters, either version may be correct when applied to individual cases.

The spring trap was mainly used in bygone days for the destruction of rapacious vermin, and even for the capture of human marauders. For the taking of rabbits even a century ago it appears to have been virtually unknown. In old sporting books of that period the gin is not mentioned for such a purpose, although the steel

device is recommended as effective against hawks, weasels, etc. In the 'Sportsman's Encyclopædia,' dated 1831, for example, one reads :

'The Wold warreners catch their rabbits with fold nets, with spring nets, and with *tipes*, a species of trap.'

A description of the latter—a pitfall in plain effect—follows, after which the writer proceeds to state that by such means

'Five or six hundred couples have not unfrequently been killed in one night, and there was once an instance in the Driffild warrens of fifteen hundred couple being slaughtered.'

'Rabbits are also taken with the ferret; which, it is said, was originally brought from Africa into Spain to free that country of the multitude of rabbits by which it was over-run.'

There is reference to neither gin nor snare, although the latter under the name of *springe* is represented as a popular device for taking woodcocks.

Nowadays, the entire position is reversed. The pole-trap is abolished, and there are few sportsmen who countenance the use of the gin for the capture of any bird. Yet in many districts the trapping of rabbits has become so customary that the landowner who refuses to permit the practice upon his ground, or places obstacles in the way of any tenant who wishes to exercise a free hand in this respect, is regarded almost in the light of an oppressor.

There is substantial reason for the supposition that the professional trapper has been largely responsible for the state of affairs under which he now officiates. He can only be described in his present character as a combined product of the Ground Game Acts, the Great War, modern transport, and, lastly, the break-up of the large estates. In the Church Registers of two old West-Country parishes where the practice now predominates, the first reference to trapping as an occupation occurs in 1901, after which similar entries appear with increasing frequency. By means of these registers one can trace throughout the centuries the growth and decline of many rural industries, and in the case of the trapper they serve to indicate not so much the date of his initiation, which was certainly prior to the given date, but the period during



which he became generally established and his occupation, as such, received official recognition.

Whether he has proved in the main beneficial or harmful to agriculture is a question upon which dogmatic pronouncement would be inadvisable. It is certain, however, that his course was not marked by the disappearance of the 'farmer's foe.' He was rather the storm petrel of the rabbit plague, until then undreamed of as a serious menace, according to old residents. Apparently there were no complaints of devastated crops fifty years ago, rabbits, when great numbers were required, being largely confined in private warrens to which many of the ground game laws referred. Old sportsmen, indeed, still talk of the days when it was necessary to 'turn down' rabbits for the purpose of sport, even as pheasants are frequently re-introduced at the present time, and one finds mention of this practice in an old statute governing the methods of procedure with regards to commons.

'The lord of the soil may make burrows in a common and stock them with rabbits; and therefore the commoner cannot justify chasing them thence, *damage fesant*, for he ought to come there but to use his common; but if the lord surcharge the commoner, he is liable to an action for so doing. Cro. Jac. 195, 208, 229.

Upon the same principle, one may assume that no sensible landowner 'surcharged' ground from which he hoped to derive rent, the more so since by an Act of Parliament (40 & 41 Vict. c. 28) some attempt was made to provide compensation to tenants for damage caused by game. That such damage was not taken very seriously, however, may be deduced from the stipulation that, in default of a settled figure, the amount paid for depredations should be 'in excess of forty shillings.' Cultivation, again, was more intensive for the most part than is the case to-day, and it is improbable that rabbits found sufficient harbourage to become firmly established. When fences are regularly cut and dug considerable disturbance is effected, while burrows are rendered more accessible and can therefore be dealt with satisfactorily.

In any case, the rabbit problem, unless by special arrangement, rested with the landlord, and the methods adopted varied, no doubt, according to circumstances.

Since, however, the country squire of the period seldom wandered far afield, he devoted a considerable part of his time to shooting. From the tenant's point of view, however, the position left something to be desired, and the Ground Game Act of 1880 followed in consequence. Under the provisions of this Bill the landlord still possessed equal and even primary rights in ground game, since the farmer's powers were subject to distinct reservations. These hold good to-day, but with the growth of a more democratic spirit engendered by progressive times, rabbits came to be regarded as the special province of the occupier.

With the railways providing access to markets in the thickly populated centres, surplus rabbits soon became a profitable side-line to the tenant-farmer. Since the cost of transport required quantity if substantial returns were to be realised, it became necessary to employ special labour to procure the supply, and thus the professional gradually materialised. Originally, he merely caught rabbits which were placed at the disposal of his employer—the only arrangement actually authorised by law in the case of a tenant. The employé operated upon a 'piece-work' principle, that is to say, the game was procured at a fixed price per head, the figure depending upon the ownership of the requisite outfit. If spring traps were used, they were—at least ostensibly—placed in rabbit-holes, and it was the duty of the landlord's gamekeeper to enforce the restrictions. The owner-occupier, however, was under no obligation in this respect, owing to the wording of the statute which, intentionally or otherwise, prohibited a *tenant* only from setting gins in the open, and upon the strength of this loophole the trapper worked for a lower wage if allowed to utilise the most convenient situations. This proved to be the thin end of the wedge, and as the landlord gradually lost interest in game for which he was not responsible and no longer claimed, the restrictions relaxed proportionately, until it became more or less customary for the trapper to enjoy a free hand, and the law, in plain effect, degenerated into a dead letter.

The precedent was fatal, as ever. One restriction after another slackened. The owner-occupier soon found it convenient to sell his rabbits to the trapper outright,

and the tenant-farmer followed this lead, although the transaction was illegal, and since the landlord seldom asserted his authority, the practice became customary. The supply of professionals rapidly increased, for the character of the work, together with its high remuneration, offered special inducements to men of a certain type. Competition became keen and prices rose accordingly. From being a mere side-line, rabbits acquired a substantial value, and during the 'peak' years of the war period even proved sufficiently lucrative to pay the rent of a rough farm. In those days the producer realised as much as 2s. 6d. per head, and though the price eventually dropped to one half of that figure, it remained sufficiently high to maintain a brisk trade.

The trapper has thus developed into the recognised agent through which the vast majority of rabbits reach the market, and shooting has become a secondary consideration. So long as the farmer and his sons can enjoy an occasional day's sport they are content, and a situation diametrically opposite to that which originally prevailed is now established. In former times the steel gin, if employed at all, was used to secure those rabbits which the owner of the sporting rights could neither shoot nor net. Now the farmer refrains from the latter methods until the trapper has been requisitioned. In other words, trapping has by common practice become the first rather than the last expedient, and the same order of procedure is observed when the professional has bought all rights and is working upon his own account.

From a humane point of view this arrangement is the reverse of everything that could be desired. So far as the trapper is concerned, however, it is purely logical, since trapped rabbits command a higher price. Again, it is not unusual to buy the rights over a farm for a limited period—perhaps not more than a week or two—so he is anxious to secure the maximum return as quickly as possible. In this respect, as in so many others, the fault lies in the system rather than with the individual. Such reflections, however, are beside the main issue. It suffices that an overwhelming proportion of the rabbits offered for sale in London and the great industrial centres suffer a lingering death by such means, and that they exist and are preserved for no other purpose.

This state of affairs, though deplorable, possesses another advantage from the farmer's point of view, enabling him to 'have it both ways.' It is not only possible but practicable for him to rear an enormous supply of rabbits during the summer months upon grass or waste land where they do little damage, disposing of them in the autumn by quick sale before food shortage cause a descent upon winter crops. This has given rise to the conventional misrepresentation that trapping is only undertaken to check the rabbit's depredations and avert the ruin of the agriculturist. The supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the farmer is frequently compelled to prosecute a trapping campaign around the sprouting corn in spring when the first contingent of young rabbits becomes rampant. It is almost superfluous, however, to point out that so early an abundance is entirely due to over-preservation in the first instance. The farmer frequently complains of damage done, but when he depends upon rabbits for revenue, his complaints are more vehement if he has none to sell in autumn. From a practical standpoint the farmer's policy is defensible. He makes a profit of his ground game and saves his crops, while an additional supply of nutritive and economical animal food is provided for public consumption. His case is thus expressed in a sentence, but there remains the necessity for examining the character of his methods in actual operation, together with their effect upon the animals concerned.

From the outset, there is one fundamental point that must not be overlooked. The steel trap, as commonly employed, is as refined in its cruelty as any device conceived by a 'sworn tormentor' of the so-called Dark Ages. To utilise it without inflicting infinite suffering upon every animal captured is impossible. In order to hold its victim, a hard tight grip is essential, and to ensure this end the spring by which the jagged iron jaws are controlled operates with sufficient force to break the limb upon which the teeth close. The snap may be heard a considerable distance in the hush of night, and if any doubt could be entertained as to the agony inflicted, the screams of the captive provide an answer for ever upon that point. Any one who lives in a trapping district is only too familiar with this distressing sound which

affronts the peace and beauty of the autumnal twilight and mars the pleasure of many a country walk. Anti-trapping legislation would need no other advocate could this eloquent testimony from the fields be rendered audible at Westminster.

A rabbit, when caught, utters a series of screams in rapid succession. These are usually repeated twice after a short interval in each case. The outcry then becomes less regular, but the perpetual clanging of iron proclaims the grim struggle for liberty which is in progress. This end can only be achieved—if at all—by slow amputation, and when the little animal has been caught by one leg only, it effects its escape in this manner unless the trapper arrives before the operation is complete. Rabbits that have purchased a further span of life at the cost of a limb frequently come to hand, while veterans hobbling at a surprising pace upon two stumps in lieu of sound legs are by no means unusual. Even when caught by both fore-paws, the creature struggles so resolutely that it occasionally succeeds in wrenching out the peg to which the chain is attached and dragging the entire contrivance into a bush or burrow where its ultimate end is better imagined than described. Foxes, which frequently escape with rabbit-gins attached to their pads, have been known to live for weeks in such a plight.

When working single-handed, a trapper uses from one hundred to one hundred and fifty gins, according to the facilities of the ground. These are set in every runway over a long frontage, and few wild creatures can pass the iron line unscathed. No bird or beast is immune from injury. Even red deer may be lamed, while in the case of smaller animals, the snap of the steel jaws is usually the death sentence. The feathered races, being most numerous, are, perforce, the principal sufferers. Considerable interest was aroused by a statement made at a recent meeting of ornithologists to the effect that thousands of birds are destroyed annually by this means within the county of Devon alone, and subsequent investigation has proved that the figure, far from being excessive, was actually moderate. Professionals consulted upon the question estimate the yearly average of avian victims inadvertently destroyed by a single trapper at about four hundred, and when one realises that, according

to various estimates, approximately 12,000 men are similarly occupied, the most cautious calculation reaches an aggregate that seems incredible to any one lacking knowledge of the facts.

Since all birds alight upon the ground, all are affected. Personal experience can vouch for a large number of species ranging from buzzard to robin, while those particularly addicted to pedestrianism, such as pheasant, partridge, woodcock, and golden plover, are necessarily more liable to come to grief. Unscrupulous trappers, indeed, sometimes take advantage of this tendency to the extent of concealing gins in loose earth where partridges take dust-baths. Game birds, in the same manner as rabbits, frequently escape with the loss of a leg. When the teeth secure a grip above the knee joint, however, the hold is secure, while small birds are sometimes caught across the body.

A professional trapper goes his round twice within twenty-four hours. This is usually considered sufficient, since more frequent visits involve considerable risk of disturbing the game. Thus, animals caught early in the night remain until morning; birds entrapped during the forenoon await despatch until nightfall. This is not the worst, however. During early summer, when rabbits have no market value and are destroyed solely upon account of damage, too often little attention is paid to the gins. At such times it is not unusual to discover a line of traps, skirting, perhaps, some furze-brake or rough hill-side, containing numerous creatures, some still living, others newly dead, many already reduced to varying stages of decay. Rabbits, field mice, hedgehogs are there in ghastly array; small birds that were scratching the loose earth in search of grubs for their young, or larger species that had visited the place for a more sinister purpose only to be themselves entrapped in their turn. Such sights are common in remote western coombes or upon ocean cliffs redolent with the fragrance of wild flowers and bright with the 'gladsome life' of earth, air, and sea. Sickened, one quits a scene where 'every prospect pleases and only man is vile.'

Such is the steel trap in operation, and at first glance it may seem incredible that such a system can exist under modern standards of civilisation. It is only compre-



hensible when one realises that the situation has never been brought home to the general public, and that the anti-trapping movement, hitherto, has lacked influential support. The popular Press has been indifferent to an issue with which it had no direct concern; the prospect of prohibitive legislation appealing to public sentiment was too problematical to tempt any political Party; while the certainty of opposition from interested quarters was sufficient to ensure the failure of any private Bill. When facts involve something of an upheaval if recognised, the disposition to evade them is only natural. In the case of the steel trap, therefore, it will be readily understood that those people upon whose shoulders the onus of instituting reform must fall have been somewhat too willing to accept assurances that the position was irremediable. The member of Parliament who represents an agricultural constituency cannot but fear that by countenancing anti-trapping legislation he would court disfavour among his constituents. Either landowner or trapper is reluctant to adopt a change that would entail the purchase of an entirely new outfit.

General principles rarely apply at home, and it is by no means extraordinary that men directly concerned should condemn the steel gin but endeavour to justify its use for their own purposes. In a recently published letter, for example, one head-keeper emphatically denounces the trapping system, but naïvely suggests that the privilege should be confined to his own profession. Others recognise the cruelty of employing gins in the open, yet claim that the same appliance is comparatively humane when placed at the mouth of a burrow. The assurance that mutilated legs are less painful underground than above can scarcely be accepted as logical. As often as not a trapper, whether an independent professional or a gamekeeper, utilises the steel gin because it constitutes the only method at which he is proficient. He distrusts innovations, and, if induced to employ them, regards the experiment with disfavour, his pronouncement in consequence being inevitable. Any advantage which they may possess upon humane grounds scarcely enters his calculations. He does not regard the gin as cruel since long experience has inured him to its horrors. He looks upon it, indeed, as representing the 'necessary end' of



all rabbits—the final purpose and justification of their existence. He is naturally hostile to reform, seeing no occasion for it—a purely logical outlook, according to his lights.

The R.S.P.C.A., pending legislation upon the point, has undertaken to provide humane snares and nets to any *bona fide* professional who will use them, under certain conditions, and this offer should receive a wide response. It is unnecessary to embark upon a categorical list of the various methods that have been enumerated as alternatives to trapping. The recent pamphlet issued by the University of London Animals' Welfare Society contains many practical suggestions the efficacy of which can be vouched for by personal experience, and since these methods are unquestionably available, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that if either the agriculturist or his representative lacks the requisite skill, he must acquire the services of some one who is more proficient. Inability to cope with an excess of rabbits cannot be accepted as a legitimate excuse for adopting undesirable methods, since in every district there are men who would be only too willing to undertake the task if allowed an opportunity.

Were spring traps abolished, there would be no reason to anticipate catastrophic consequences to the agriculturist. He would be in precisely the same position as others of his vocation now inhabiting parts of the country where the wholesale system is unknown, and the same methods which they successfully employ would be at his disposal. When there is a will there is usually a way, and considerable importance has, quite rightly, been attached to the fact that the night poacher with his nets and whippets quickly reduces the rabbit population to zero. Upon land where the rabbit's presence is undesired the remedy should be found in extermination or exclusion, neither proceeding being ultimately more costly than perpetual trapping 'at a loss.' When required for profit, preservation should be restricted to a quantity within the owner's ability to control. It would be impossible to suggest a policy that is entirely unassailable, but existing conditions are such that anything in the way of a departure could scarcely fail to effect an improvement.

To follow the interminable bypaths of the controversy would be impossible without unlimited space

at one's disposal. Acrimony is inseparable from any discussion upon which strong feeling exists, nor is it reasonable to assume that either side is entirely devoid of prejudice or incapable of error. There are always points upon which evidence is conflicting, particularly when the natural processes of cause and effect are governed by no obvious rule. Rabbits, for example, may multiply or be exterminated with or without the aid of the steel trap, even as trapping may serve either to efface them utterly or indirectly to aid their preservation. It is true that the gin destroys both stoat and weasel, thus materially lessening the *natural* decrease of the rabbit population. At the same time, if the entire stock is eliminated by persistent trapping, propagation becomes impossible. There are localities that have been trapped so closely over a period of years that scarcely a rabbit remains. One has known the same end achieved by nets and ferrets. In such instances it is perseverance that counts rather than the methods adopted.

Until the termination of the dispute, argument will proceed in the inevitable vicious circle, and since conviction comes slowly to the man who prefers to retain his opinion, those who favour the trap will continue to use it and obstruct all attempts at reform. Opposition upon the part of the various trades concerned goes without saying. Similar difficulties must have beset the passage of any progressive legislation throughout history, and it is perhaps superfluous to remark that in this connection one man's loss is usually another's gain. It has been stated in extenuation of the gin that it provides employment to a large number of persons. This, however, weakens rather than strengthens the case for the defence, as the extensive character of the evil only serves to emphasise the necessity for drastic measures.

There are many who incline to compromise as offering the best solution of the difficulty, suggesting an amendment of the existing law to prohibit either owner or tenant from trapping in the open. At first glance this seems worthy of consideration, and were the proposed restrictions further extended to render the taking of any bird in gins unlawful, much would be achieved, always assuming that the provisions of the Act would be *observed*. In the latter condition, however, lies the weakness of the suggestion,

there being no grounds for assuming that any restrictions imposed would be even nominally recognised. For precedent, one has only to consider the Game Laws and the Wild Birds Protection Acts, and the utter disregard with which they are treated in the very counties that would be mainly affected by anti-trapping legislation. Were the gin permitted in any shape or form, it would be used as it has always been, unless the law provided means for enforcing its mandates. Even now it is illegal for any person to set a trap upon 'any cairn of stones or earth,' yet trappers make a practice of 'tilling' upon a bank many feet above ground-level, the excuse being that the rabbit, held in a suspended position, is unable to struggle as effectually as when allowed a foothold.

Again, were the proposed law passed and *enforced*, the agriculturist would still be compelled to adjust his methods, the main pretext for open trapping being the inaccessibility of the burrows. Indeed, in actual practice, gins can rarely be set 'in rabbit holes,' for, as often as not, the trapper would be unable to operate his sieve. Such a measure, moreover, although constituting a step in the right direction, would only minimise the evil. Birds and other creatures would certainly benefit, but 1,250,000 traps would still be free for the capture of rabbits within the prescribed limits.

There remains the problem of vermin, which is, perhaps, the most difficult, since many game-preservers, while ready to abandon the trapping of rabbits, still desire the right to employ the same methods against rapacious animals. Here, again, is a point of view that demands careful attention. To many people there is nothing particularly repellent in the idea of a gin set to entrap a marauding rat, for example, there being little conventional sympathy for the fate of animals that are held in general disfavour. The sufferings of a predatory animal are none the less acute, nor must it be overlooked that traps set for wild outlaws are frequently responsible for the greatest cruelty on account of irregular inspection. Also there is the danger that many innocent creatures would suffer, there being few expressions in the vocabulary of woodcraft more elastic than that of 'vermin.' Even for rat-catching any objections to the abolition of the gin are insufficiently valid to justify

exception; poison, despite its drawbacks, providing a preferable alternative which, even under present conditions, is more commonly employed. So far as birds are concerned there can be no two opinions. I have known an instance of thirty blue tits trapped within a few days in a private garden merely to protect a crop of peas—a purpose that could have been effected with equal efficiency by utilising a few reels of cotton.

Fully considered, the position might be summarised as follows. The gin is serviceable but not indispensable. Despite its efficacy, rabbits have multiplied under the existing system for a variety of reasons, not the least of which being the decreasing popularity of rabbit shooting. Trapping, indeed, is primarily a matter of convenience or profit, and every argument advanced in its defence might have been urged with equal justice in favour of slavery, child labour, the caged birds traffic, or any undesirable practice from which certain sections of the community derived financial benefit. In conclusion, one cannot but emphasise that the gin in itself constitutes a blot upon civilisation, and cannot be reconciled with modern outlook and standards of legitimate procedure.

DOUGLAS GORDON.

## Art. 7.—EUGENIC LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

1. *The Economic Development of India*. By V. Anstey. Longmans, 1929.
2. *The Key of Progress : A Survey of the Status and Condition of Women in India*. Edited by A. R. Caton. Oxford University Press, 1930.
3. *Industrial Welfare in India*. By P. S. Lokanathan. Economic Studies, University of Madras, 1929.
4. *Legal Aspects of Social Reform*. By P. Appasamy. Christian Literature Society for India. Madras, 1929.
5. *Leprosy : a Survey made in Forty Countries, 1924-1927*. By H. C. de Souza-Araujo. Oswaldo Cruz Institute, Rio de Janeiro, 1929.
6. *Lyon's Medical Jurisprudence for India* (8th edition). By L. A. Waddell. Thacker, Spink, Calcutta, 1928.
7. *Women's Rights Under Hindu Law : Report of the Committee appointed by H.H. the Maharajah of Mysore*. Government Press, Bangalore, 1930.

And other works.

IN the absence of any concept of eugenics as a composite science vitally concerned with human progress, it is to be expected that what may be called eugenic legislation can be neither radical nor comprehensive in India. With other aspects of social reform, the growth of welfare laws has been affected by the inevitable time-lag between perception and action, the impeditive effects of the opposition of vested interests of many types, the so-called official policy of *laissez-faire*, and an inadequate operative machinery facilitating evasion and negligence. Thus, the restraint of child marriage has been periodically discussed for some fifty years at least, but Sir Hari Singh Gour's attempt, in 1924, to raise the age of consent to fourteen years within marriage was met by official timidity and a storm of opposition, resulting in the rejection of his Bill. In 1927, similar efforts by Sir Hari Singh and Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda were again opposed, but the propaganda of women's associations was largely instrumental in getting the Bills referred to a Select Committee on the Age of Consent, and finally in securing the passing of the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1930. This Act, which prohibits and penalises marriages in

which the female is under fourteen, and the male under eighteen years of age, is undoubtedly an important piece of eugenic legislation, but, as Caton and Martelli point out, the Act does not implement certain recommendations of the Age of Consent Committee (1929), which were concerned with preventing the evasion of the new law. These writers feel, therefore, that 'it is doubtful whether the prevention of child marriage is assured,' and it is a matter of general knowledge that evasions of the Act are by no means uncommon. The official attitude towards child marriage provokes the following temperate comment from the Committee: 'Government has always been hesitant and cautious, and has acted more as a brake than as a power for advance in this matter. Both the Bills are brought not by the Government but by elected members.'

Industrial legislation provides another example of the effects of the circumstances mentioned. After years of agitation, both in England and in India, the Indian Factory Act of 1881 was passed. It 'prohibited,' writes Anstey, 'the employment of children under seven, limited to nine hours the work of children from seven to twelve years, and included provisions for the prevention of accidents, and for a midday interval and four holidays per month for children. Unfortunately (even these) regulations were not difficult to evade.' The extension of factory legislation, while meeting with some sympathy, was condemned as a 'great conspiracy for stifling Indian manufactures under the guise of philanthropy.' In the fifty years that have elapsed, the Act of 1881 has been replaced by Acts passed in 1891, 1911, and 1922, but it is difficult to agree with Anstey that the Acts have been successful in introducing 'a comparatively high standard of safety, ventilation, and sanitation.' The Act of 1922 excludes the employment of children under twelve years of age, but permits their employment between the ages of twelve and fifteen, provided that (1) a certificate of age is produced, (2) they do not work for more than six hours a day, (3) they are given a rest interval after four hours' work. The adult working day and week is limited to eleven and sixty hours respectively, a rest interval of one hour after six hours' work, and a weekly holiday, being compulsory. Night work

for women and children is illegal, and they may not be engaged on any operation involving the use of lead compounds.

The inadequacy of the machinery for the administration of this Act is shown by Lady Chatterjee (quoted by Anstey), who estimated 'that about half the total number of factories get inspected only once, that less than one-third are inspected more than once, while more than 1000 factories do not receive an inspection visit throughout a whole year. The majority of the managers can therefore bank on being immune from further visits after the annual inspection has taken place.' Conditions appear to have improved, but it cannot be said that they are 'satisfactory.' The Mining Act of 1923, which followed the recommendations of the International Labour Conference at Washington in 1921, is even less satisfactory from the welfare viewpoint. It does not limit the working day, though the working week is limited to six days, with a total of sixty hours for surface, and fifty-four hours for underground, workers. The employment of children under thirteen years of age is prohibited, but women are permitted to work underground, though Government possesses the power to prevent women from such work in special cases. Miserable hovels that serve for 'homes,' malnutrition and intemperance—it is said that the miner spends half his earnings on drink—are a natural corollary to the provisions of this Act.

These examples will serve to indicate the temper of industrial legislation in India. It must be admitted, however, that the growth of the labour movement, and the representation of India on the Council of the International Labour Organisation, have awakened a new interest in social and industrial legislation that has already borne some fruit. Thus, in 1923, the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act made employers responsible for the contraction by workers of specified industrial diseases, and for all cases of 'personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of employment.' Unfortunately, however, the Compensation Commissioner 'can only take action when an application is made to him under the Act,' which, in view of the prevailing illiteracy and ignorance among Indian labourers, means in effect that the advantages afforded by the Act



remain to be fully utilised. Other reforms are afoot, but vested interests and legislative apathy obstruct their recognition by law. Thus, an All-India Maternity Benefits Act remains to be passed, though a Bill was introduced in 1924, and progressive concerns, like those connected with the unusually far-seeing organisation of Messrs Tata and Sons, have in operation the system of benefits to mothers. Much remains, therefore, to be done, and it is agreeable to find that the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health has frequently stressed, in its health propaganda, the limitations of labour legislation.

The whole question of industrial legislation in India forms the subject of an extensive literature, of which the reviews by Anstey and Lokanathan may be selected for general reference. The report of the Labour Commission (1931) reviews the entire subject, and marks a step in the right direction, but what is needed is a concise, critical, and suggestive volume on eugenic legislation, by a lawyer (presumably) with an advanced and comprehensive appreciation of eugenics. As Sir Lynden Macassey writes: \* 'To-day, hard economic realities call for a searching review of legislative tendencies in every sphere. Those exemplified in public health legislation cannot escape the scrutiny.' In this respect, the American attitude towards law and social welfare is instructive for India.† Appasamy contributes to such a volume, and the purpose of this essay is to indicate, perhaps in a spirit of 'impractical idealism,' some of the directions in which legislative action may implement eugenic progress.

In the realm of public health, the primary essential is a comprehensive Act. 'A consolidating Public Health Act for all India,' writes Platt, 'by the enforcement of a minimum standard, and by making compulsory much inoperative legislation, might effect the revolution in sanitation which followed the Public Health Act of 1875 in England, by which "the scourge of water and dirt-borne epidemic disease was practically abolished."' Of such inoperative legislation, the Leprosy

\* 'Modern Legislative Tendencies in Public Health': 'Journ. State Medicine,' xl, pp. 399-405, 1932.

† See, e.g., J. S. Bradway (Editor): 'Law and Social Welfare': 'Ann. Amer. Acad. Political and Social Science,' cxlv, 1929.

Act furnishes an excellent example. Amended in 1920, at the instigation of the Mission to Lepers, it was hailed with unqualified delight as a splendid example of progressive legislation by workers associated with that body, but was despatched with quaint sarcasm by the radically-minded de Souza-Araujo. The obvious futility of the Act need not be elaborated. By it lepers are arrested, examined by an Inspector of Lepers, and then either discharged or committed to an asylum. Pauper lepers may, however, 'be released if entrusted to the care of any friend or person affirming . . . that the patient will be conveniently taken care of under their responsibility.' The possibility of a pauper leper having a friend, who can bestow adequate care, is obviously remote, but hypocrisy is necessarily enframined in law when the 'will to do' is absent. The laws relating to mental disease and deficiency also need to be extended, but not as a separate Act, since a Public Health Act for all India would provide for the enforcement of an extensive policy of disease prevention.

In this connection, careful attention should be paid to the framing of laws for eugenic sterilisation. In the absence of eugenic research in India, we can neither hope for, nor regard as desirable, the sanction of legal powers for sterilisation, except in cases that are susceptible to indisputable medical opinion. In India, it may be dangerous to have such powers as those conferred by the sterilisation laws of Idaho, by which, given the requisite enthusiasm for 'purity,' many progressive thinkers would be exposed to defertilisation. Such arguments, however, are treated with gravity only in a certain type of dialectics, and provide no opposition to the framing of laws by which the undesirable population will be reduced. Sterilisation must be regarded as one of the most important measures in social improvement to-day. And along with it, other matters concerning sexual relationships require to be legally considered. For example, the need for health certificates before marriage, for proper registration of births, for restriction of births, and even, in certain cases, for abortion, can only be met with legal support. It may be said, of course, that such measures are impossible in India, but no one with political courage and personal experience of the country

will state that they are impracticable, even in rural areas.

In acknowledging the need for legalised abortion, the writer finds himself, fortunately, in good company, as the Proceedings of the last World Congress for Sexual Reform will show. In India, the law dealing with abortion is even more harsh than it is in England. According to section 312 of the Indian Penal Code, anyone causing abortion, even the pregnant woman herself, shall be punished with simple or rigorous imprisonment up to three years, or with a fine, or with both, unless it is 'caused in good faith for the purpose of saving the life of the woman.' If the woman is 'quick with child,' imprisonment may extend to seven years. Moreover, even an attempt to cause miscarriage, by an 'unwholesome drug or other thing,' is punishable, proof of pregnancy not being required. Such a law is obviously futile, for, while the prevalence of abortion in India is universally recognised, it is practically impossible to frame a charge of foeticide, abortifacients, for example, being freely prescribed as emmenagogues. A further proof of the absurdity of the law is that the evidence of quickening is essentially dependent on the charged woman herself!

Law of this nature not only defeats its own ends, but creates a situation that is definitely antagonistic to the interests of society. The picture of the prevailing results of illicit abortions, which is supplemented in India by infanticide, has been too often painted to need reproduction here. It will suffice to say that there is an enormous demand for abortion, which intelligent government would endeavour to meet and gradually eliminate. Legalised abortion, under conditions that are not prohibitive, would meet the demand; the spread of contraceptive information, combined with the opportunity to use such knowledge, would soon reduce it to the unavoidable minimum. For the benefit of Indian opinion, it may be added that this principle has been recognised in Soviet Russia for several years, where official clinics for abortion have replaced the charlatans of the past. (The liberality of this outlook is emphasised by the fact that Soviet policy definitely favours population increase.) It is significant that, whereas the death-rate from illicit

abortions was extremely high, thousands of patients have passed through the Soviet clinics without fatality, and with sufficient knowledge of the sexual processes and contraceptive technique to prevent their return. Legalised and sanitary abortion has undoubtedly contributed to the reduction of the infant mortality rate from 25 to 16 per cent., and the maternal mortality rate to 2 per mille, the lowest in the world.\* Experience has evidently proved the need for judicious abortion in the modern State.

The problem of abortion leads naturally to that of quackery, the extent of which amazes Western travellers, but apparently causes no concern in India. Indeed, until quite recently, an otherwise conservative European newspaper of wide reputation, 'The Statesman,' regularly published an advertisement for the benefit of 'princes and rich men only,' while the pages of the best reviews in the country are replete with execrable advertisements of virility pills, birth-control and good-luck talismans, and the advantages afforded by astrologers. One talisman is described as a 'wonderful preparation from a sage,' which will prevent conception if 'simply worn round the waist.' Another promises the wearer 'immense wealth with little struggling and attains to long life, good health, fame, son, success in undertakings, prosperity in service and business. Its potency is unparalleled in bringing all sorts of luck and success in short time. Price Rs. 7.10. Specially prepared (in gold) and giving immediate effects, Rs. 29.11.' A further selection of such advertisements will be found in Mr Aldous Huxley's 'Jesting Pilate,' but perhaps the most unique announcement is recorded by Mr Trevor Pinch in 'Stark India.' 'Come in here,' it reads, 'and be cured of consumption in ten minutes, malaria in six minutes, and pneumonia in fifteen minutes.'

With a more advanced outlook on medicine, and diminished regard for traditional Ayurvedic practice, the attitude towards such quackery will become less complacent. Meanwhile, with an organisation for the examination and certification of all food, medical and other products offered for public consumption, as is developing in the United States,† supported by laws prohibiting and

\* See, e.g., L. H. Guest: 'Lancet,' Dec. 5, 1931.

† Cf. M. Fishbein: 'Journal Amer. Med. Assoc.,' xvii, pp. 83-87, 1931.  
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penalising the sale of rejected articles and requiring evidence of certification, the country should soon be purged of the more injurious forms of quackery. Such reform, however, though evidently practicable, will deprive the majority of Indian journals of an important source of revenue, and is therefore unlikely to meet with much sympathy from the pundits of the press. The suppression of quack literature can also be effected by law, provided a safeguarding clause requiring the opinion of at least three experts is included. In view of the sporadic concern for public morals (the Indian issue of the late D. H. Lawrence's 'Lady Chatterley's Lover' was recently seized, and the publisher arrested), evidenced by the Police Department, it should be pointed out, however, that under newer conceptions of government the business of legislation is to protect and ameliorate the corporeal life of the people, and not to ordain their moral or spiritual outlook.

In accepting this principle, the writer cannot accordingly find himself in complete agreement with the activities, impelled by so-called moral motives, of vigilance societies and the support given to them by law. The principal objects, apart from the provision of rescue homes, of the vigilance societies in the larger towns appear to be: (1) the rescue and protection of children and of women detained against their will; (2) the prevention of traffic in women; (3) the penalisation of persons having any financial connection with prostitution; (4) the closing of brothels in main thoroughfares and in the vicinity of churches and educational institutions; (5) the closing of tolerated areas; (6) the eventual eradication of prostitution. The effects of such propaganda were hopefully anticipated in 1921 by the Rev. Herbert Anderson (quoted by Caton), who felt that, by progressive restriction of the tolerated areas, prostitution would eventually become 'no more than a temporary hazardous business, conducted for the most part by individual prostitutes themselves and subject to the condition that, on application of three householders paying municipal taxation, any house of ill-fame within 500 yards should be closed and not permitted to re-open.'

Since certain forms of moral legislation popularise Government and cost nothing to promulgate, the

propaganda of vigilance workers met with speedy legislative support in the shape of Acts for the suppression of prostitution and immoral traffic in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. But prostitution is too large a problem, too enmeshed in the social fabric, to be eradicated, or even greatly reduced, by Acts for its suppression. Vigilance societies and purity laws appear to take no cognizance of the fact that commercial prostitution is essentially a function of a patriarchal morality, ignorance of the factors involved in conjugal happiness, an economic situation in which the sexual urge precedes by several years the earning capacity required to give it legitimate gratification, and a very considerable excess, in urban India, of males over females among the labouring classes. Pruning at the top will not, therefore, eradicate the canker at the roots; a vigorous policy of suppression merely drives prostitution from the open into the darkness. This situation has already arisen in urban India, though the Acts have not been extensively operated. In Calcutta, for example, in spite of vociferous moralists and a Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, tolerated areas still flourish (one of the worst of these flanks a large home of the Y.M.C.A.), but the dangers of open engagement in the trade have greatly increased the numbers of those who practise it clandestinely (which is certainly not a 'temporary hazardous business'), often under conditions that, from the viewpoint of æsthetics and social hygiene, are equalled only in the worst brothels. On the whole, it is generally admitted that prostitution in Calcutta, where 10,000 prostitutes were recorded by the Census of 1921, has shown a marked increase, and the same observation is probably true of Bombay and Madras.

In the circumstances, it would seem that the activities of vigilance societies, whose rescue work deserves the strongest support, need to be organised on more liberal lines against a background of knowledge and discriminating intelligence, instead of the present foundation of puritanical sentiment. Propaganda for sexual hygiene, for improved social conditions, for the removal of the stigma attaching to extra-marital relationships, will do more for the elimination of this social evil than Acts which reduce one type of prostitution by stimulating another. Meanwhile, the proper aim of legislation should be hygienic



rather than moral. The improvement of tolerated areas, the amelioration of their inmates, the protection of minors, and the prevention of venereal disease, should constitute the present objects of legislation affecting the problem of prostitution. Unfortunately, however, a radical approach to such problems requires a philosophy of life to which every instinct and device of the 'herd' is opposed; in India, as elsewhere, even the minds of the supposedly educated classes are enveloped in the caul of an outworn morality which makes them incapable of change until it overwhelms them.

Closely associated with the problem of prostitution and unæsthetic carnality, and responsible for much social degradation, is that of intemperance. Poor enough, the working classes are made even poorer by their addiction to cheap liquor; and the demand is met by official supply. The evil is most prevalent in urban areas, but even the villages have their arrack shops and their toddy depots. National opinion, which is inclined to incriminate the Government in the spread of intemperance, is keenly alive to the dangers of the situation, but is unfortunately disposed to exaggerate it. A movement in favour of prohibition is afoot, and Mr Gandhi and his followers would even extend the ban to the 'tobacco habit.' Total prohibition, however, would probably involve the revenues of the country in losses that it cannot bear, and would bring in its train new problems that could not be handled. There are more facilities for bootlegging there than in America, since the machinery for supervision is inadequate and the requirements of the people are simple. Toddy, for example, is made by fermenting the juice of the date-palm. On these bases, it must be concluded that the prohibition of drink, like the prohibition of any other expression of public desire, will only lead to the demand being met by an illegal and furtive supply. Moreover, the argument that a judicious regard for good liquor is associated with the cultured life, cannot be lightly dismissed in any liberal society. Social endeavour must, therefore, steer a middle course between the encouragement of unreasoning and deleterious drinking and attempts to abolish a pleasurable sensuous experience. It follows that this objective can only be met by unexaggerated propaganda, education, and the improvement of social conditions.



The law, however, can render direct aid by restricting the sale of certain forms of liquor, eliminating by standardisation all liquor that is injurious even when consumed in moderation, reducing the price of high-class wines and spirits, demanding a high minimum standard of hygienic and cheerful surroundings from vendors (including the Government), requiring the sale and advertisement of good temperance drinks—fresh toddy may be offered for sale along with the intoxicating product—at all such shops by withholding licences from those exclusively concerned with the sale of alcohol, encouraging educative propaganda, and inaugurating an intelligent machinery for supervision, which will eschew arrogance and utilise every opportunity for education. A wisely framed Abolition of Drink Evil Bill would be more effective when it passes into law than a narrow-minded attempt to secure total prohibition.

With other aspects of eugenic legislation only an extensive volume can hope to deal with any degree of completeness. Legislation is a growing thing; with every step forward new problems arise that demand the fresh attention of wise legal experience unfettered by tradition. It may be pointed out, however, that the legal position of women, their political enfranchisement and the laws affecting property, inheritance, and equal status with men, deserve immediate consideration if India is to keep pace with world progress. The position of women under Hindu law requires particular attention. The outlook on this question has advanced, and legislative action can obviously be taken immediately.

‘As one reflects,’ writes Appasamy, ‘on the existing situation, the conviction is brought home with irresistible force that the future of the Indian race depends on the future of our women, and it is only to the extent to which the stock is improved, and the general evils from which society is suffering through the neglect of its women are removed, that there can be any real change for the better in the future. Women hold a strategic position in the building up of nationhood, and it is impossible to expect that a virile race will spring up and assert itself as against other nations so long as women are kept weak and ignorant, treated as mere drudges in the home and exposed to the perils of maternity when they are still growing children. . . . What a tremendous difference it would make

to our country, if all our women enjoyed equal privileges along with men as regards inheritance and succession, education and social privilege, and the multifarious opportunities of life.'

The education, employment, treatment, and health of children also call for immediate legislative action. Criminal law, which is now impelled by blind motives of social and religious revenge, needs to be directed more towards the prevention of crime and the improvement of offenders in India as elsewhere. The young delinquent is a special problem which has been barely considered, and the establishment of adequate juvenile courts remains an urgent necessity. There are juvenile courts in Bombay and Calcutta, but their activities are markedly inconspicuous.

Finally, it may be said that, while legislation can be immediately utilised for social improvement, the principles and form of law in India must be revised before legislative action can function with science as a vital factor in the development of the people. Two broad desiderata are easily outlined. Firstly, it should be recognised that the main object of law is the prevention of dysgenic, and the encouragement and establishment of eugenic, forces; secondly, it follows that it must be based on social needs and not on spiritual beliefs. The operation in India of Hindu, Mohammedan, and Christian laws is an anachronism that needs no emphasis, though the prospects of its early removal cannot be hopefully regarded by the stoutest optimist. But a beginning can be made. The country has provided intellectual and other refreshment for the personnel of innumerable Commissions, and might well extend its hospitality to one on legal reform. A truly Oriental banquet awaits its members.

CEDRIC DOVER.

Art. 8.—ART AND THE ATONEMENT. ✓

EARLY in the third century, one of the young slaves at the Palatinate Palace in Rome scratched upon its walls a caricature which was destined to become historical. It depicted a crucified figure with the head of an ass, towards which a youth looked in an attitude of prayer and beside which was scrawled the legend, a Greek phrase meaning: 'Alexamenos adores his God.' Here, in this pagan insult, is the oldest form of the crucifix. From that time on, though hesitatingly at first, for fourteen hundred years, the world's greatest artists used the story of the Passion as the source of some of their most frequently painted subjects. Church walls were decorated, manuscripts illuminated, altar panels painted and ivories and metal-work carved, with scenes from those momentous happenings of the first Easter.

It would have been strange had it been otherwise. In an age in which the history of art was little more than the history of religious painting, and art a constant expression of the relation of men to God, it would have been surprising if a subject so central in Christian theology as the Atonement, had not been universally painted. Inevitably the significant events to which the Evangelists devoted so much as a quarter of their narrative, called forth the highest powers of which artists were capable. And a subject painted so universally in mediæval times as this, becomes a kind of touchstone by which we can measure, not only the stature of artists but the conceptions of divine nature to which they were giving expression. Paintings of the Crucifixion are gems whose facets reflect the evolution of Christian doctrine as well as the development of art. It will be of interest to consider, therefore, to what degree the presentation of the Crucifixion in art has been a reflection only of national spirit or outlook, or how far it has followed the history of dogmatic theology. To estimate, that is, how far pictorial conceptions of the Atonement have underlined those of theology. We should anticipate, for example, that the subject would be presented differently by one of the Northern artists with his literal Gothic spirit, than by an Italian whose approach was more intellectual. It is less likely, perhaps,

that doctrinal development should be sharply reflected in art, for the following reasons.

Although the subject occupied the attention of artists for so long, it was only between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries that it became really common. But during that four hundred years the doctrine of the Atonement remained almost constant so that, when religious art was most prolific, there would be little doctrinal change to reflect. Even the Reformation, revolutionary as were its effects in other directions, did not cause modifications in the doctrine of the Atonement such as seriously to affect the presentation of the subject in art. The new views of the Atonement introduced in the eleventh century did, it is true, vitally affect the representation of the Crucifixion; but the finer shades of difference in doctrine which were the result of later teaching were not such as would be readily demonstrable in painting or sculpture. Even were it possible to make manifest pictorially, slight differences between two theological conceptions, there would be a certain time-lag between the change in doctrine and its appearance in art. Forms of imagery would persist long after the thoughts they symbolised had fallen into desuetude. There are evangelical hymns of the Passion written in the eighteenth century whose tone and form of expression are closely similar to those of mediæval devotion. Such a phrase as 'Your ransom and peace, your surety He is,' taken from one of Charles Wesley's hymns, can be closely paralleled in the writings of the early fathers.

Yet we cannot altogether neglect the doctrinal background against which the artists were working. For the fourteen hundred years under consideration the enforcing of the dogmas of the Church and the relating of its legends, were the principal functions of art. Only through art could the illiterate and unlearned be reached. Of all the means of communication, none were so potent as art. Through the sensuous appeal of its colour and other pictorial elements it was invaluable as a stimulus to moods of devotion and contrition, and some of the greatest painters for this reason painted their religious pictures from the doctrinal, rather than from the historical, point of view. In such a subject as the Crucifixion, the particular conception of the event which is in the mind of

the artist is a matter of vital importance. The treatment of so revolting and brutal a subject can be justified only if the artist can make the spiritual reality of the event dominate the sordid physical facts which are its vehicle, and this is unlikely unless the artist has himself penetrated its spiritual significance and is not merely picturing gruesome details from a macabre delight in the horrible. This does not mean that art should be purely idealistic, shunning as a plague the mean and sordid realities of life and creating a false impression by treating only of pleasant things, but rather that the mean and brutal, when represented, should be transformed by something outside and above themselves. In Ghirlandaio's famous portrait of an old man with his grandchild, the love of a trusting child for its grandfather must transcend the homely countenance and deformed nose of the old man. In Rembrandt's 'Butcher's Shop,' the painter's handling of colour must transform the otherwise revolting carcase of a sheep, and his power of evoking significant expressions on the faces of the onlookers must justify his introduction of a corpse into his 'Anatomy Lesson.'

In the same way the introduction into pictures of the Passion of details of the sufferings of Christ which in themselves would be merely repulsive and disgusting, would not be justified if the artist were merely recording an ordinary historical event; they would be warranted only if he has really entered into the situation and realised it as the supreme example of God's dealings with man. For, at the best, the painter of the Crucifixion has to solve the difficult problem of giving sensuous expression to an idea which discredits the world of sense. The solution will be his, only if he understands the real nature of this transcendental conception. In the Crucifixion he must have apprehended the nature of the Sufferer, what He is suffering for and why, for Him, the whole world of sense was put to nought. It will be a matter of some importance, therefore, whether the artist conceives of the Crucifixion as merely a political success—or failure; as the suffering of an earnest but misguided enthusiast, bearing the cruel punishment inflicted by an unsympathetic and non-understanding world—another Joan of Arc or German political prisoner—or whether he regards it as an example of the redeeming love of a God who is suffering the indignities

of the crowd, the brutality of the soldiers and the anguish of the Cross, because He is bearing the sin of the world.

It would be too much to ask that the artist should turn theologian or even perhaps, that through having himself experienced the saving power of the Cross, he should be in complete spiritual harmony with the theme. There have been artists like Guido Reni and Perugini who, though the quality of their personal religion has been criticised, have yet given moving and authentic representations of the subject. Not every artist who has succeeded with it had the measure of spirituality possessed, for example, by Fra Angelico. What is necessary is that he must be in artistic and imaginative sympathy with the spiritual significance of the event; he must recognise the hideous incidents of the brutal tragedy, not in their ordinary everyday connotations, but as the outward and visible signs of the spiritual triumph of God in Christ being reconciled to the World. Such a spiritual percipience was the endowment of many of the artists in that age of faith in fifteenth-century Italy, when the simple piety of Mediævalism was blooming but had not yet felt either the cold touch of Renaissance neo-paganism or the attenuation of its spirituality which resulted from the 'hot-house' stimulus of the new learning.

For these reasons we should not expect art to be altogether independent of doctrine. But there is yet another important reason. Art and doctrine alike are expressions of the spirit of the age to which they belong. It is possible, of course, for an artist to work on oblivious of happenings in the world about him, unmoved by and apparently unaware of his environment. Within our experience there were academic painters who continued placidly to paint according to their wont despite the greatest war the world has known, and in the same way there were mediæval artists who were incurious about and unaffected by the great social, intellectual, political, and religious changes which were taking place around them. But these were the lesser painters. The greatest artists have been children of their own generation. Carrying on a tradition? Yes! but still participating in the best thought of their time and breathing a common air with philosophers, poets, and mystics, so that, sometimes

despite themselves, their art has faithfully reflected the spirit of their age. Similarly, doctrines of the Atonement have been products of their own age and have been moulded by the dominant conceptions of the thought of their time. Ransom theories belong to an age when brigandage was common; satisfaction theories to the age of chivalry; and the penal substitution theories of the reformers to a time when the absolute monarchy was emerging as a political form and jurisprudence exercising the minds of men. It is not surprising, then, that art and doctrine, products of the same generation and conceived of the same spirit, should partake of a common spirit and illustrate one another.

It was only gradually that the Crucifixion made its way into the subject-matter of Christian art. The sufferings and death of Christ did not concern the early fathers so much as doctrines of His Person and His place in the Trinity, and though the writers of the gospels did devote so large a part of their narrative to the Passion, they said singularly little about the sufferings of Christ and only the words 'I thirst' supply a spur to our imaginations. This reserve on the part of the early Church regarding representations of the Crucifixion continued throughout the Patristic period for a number of reasons which we can readily appreciate. The death of Christ on the Cross was the feature of their beliefs which more than any other called forth upon the early Christians the taunts of their pagan opponents and evoked the antipathy of possible proselytes. They possessed, too, an awful and deep reverence for the Godhead which did not encourage its representation in art. They had, in addition, symbolical images of mystical importance—the Good Shepherd, the Lamb, and so forth, which gave the idea of redemption in a glorified form and relieved them from the necessity of dwelling on the sufferings of the Cross. Again, the Crucifixion was not likely to be represented in art while it was still the usual method of execution throughout the Roman Empire. Those who had been eye-witnesses of its unspeakable horrors would not desire that it should be imaginatively suggested to them, and in this we may have one reason for the reticence of the gospel writers. Fleury said that when the early Christians wished on their monuments



to recall the scenes of the Passion they chose those the representation of which would cause the least sense of horror.

At length, with the triumph of Christianity in politics, the Cross appeared in art. But Constantine chose it as a symbol of victory rather than as a memento of an inglorious death, and this note of triumph is struck throughout the whole of the Patristic period. Eventually, from being merely a symbol, the Cross enters seriously into artistic representation and with it, the Crucified as well. The British Museum possesses a carved ivory box, dating from the fifth century, which bears what must be one of the earliest representations of the Crucified Saviour. The first painted Crucifixion scene is thought to be that in the Syriac Bible of the monk Rabbula, painted in 586. Being for the use only of the learned and devout, this manuscript depicted the scene with a frankness unusual for some centuries in pictures painted for public view. With the entry into art of literal translations of the gospel story, in the seventh century, the subject was drawn upon more frequently. In these early centuries, doctrinal influence is marked. All the crucifixes are the so-called 'triumph crucifixes' in which Christ is depicted as 'Christus Victor.' He is represented as alive and frequently clad. Although He is the Sufferer, He is at the same time the Victor, who gains His triumph by the sacrifice of Himself. This is a direct reflection of the ransom theory which until the time of Anselm, was the dominant doctrine of the Atonement. It was a dramatic conception of the Cross as divine conflict in which Christ fights and triumphs over the evil powers of the world under which mankind is in bondage. One conception which might be stated briefly is that of St Chrysostom, who described the devil as a tyrant who tortures those who fall into his hands, but meets a king or a king's son whom, unjustly, he beats to death, and by that death liberates the others. The 'triumph-crucifix' reveals that to the early Church the tragedy of the Cross was forgotten because it was lost in the triumph of the Resurrection, 'Death was swallowed up in Victory.'

Associated with these doctrinal conceptions was a crude and grotesque mythology, which is probably one reason why modern thought seems to regard the ransom

theory as not only the earliest in time but the least spiritual of all conceptions of the Atonement. The fantastic imagery with which these ideas have usually been clothed was reflected in the Miracle and Mystery plays which developed out of the Easter ritual in the ninth and succeeding centuries. An example of how it was reflected in art may be seen in a little Norfolk church where the baptismal font is adorned with an undeniably crude sculptural representation of the Holy Trinity in which God the Father is depicted sitting upon a throne and holding between His knees, Christ upon the Cross, while between His chin and the top of the Cross there is the Holy Ghost in the image of a dove. The teaching of the early fathers was probably responsible for another feature of mediæval art, the custom of painting diptychs which bore on their leaves representations of the Nativity and the Crucifixion; and triptychs which bore the Resurrection in addition. It was part of their teaching that these events were inseparable and the Incarnation a necessary preliminary to the atoning work of the Cross. Witness, Irenæus: 'The Word of God was made flesh in order that He might destroy death and bring man to life; for we were tied and bound in sin.'

During the period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, when Italian art reached its apogee, Crucifixion pictures were produced in hundreds. Throughout this time the doctrine of the Atonement which was dominant was the 'satisfaction theory' of Anselm, which seems to have been modified to only a slight extent by those great teachers of the Middle Ages and heralds of the Renaissance, St Francis of Assisi, St Dominic, and St Thomas Aquinas. Each of these men exerted a considerable influence upon art generally, but their departures from the doctrines of their time were too slight to affect the representations of the Crucifixion. The followers of St Francis were marked by a practical piety and mysticism which brought a feeling of love and air of simplicity into the religious life of their time, but they did not depart very radically from its doctrines. The Dominicans, who, as a teaching order, might have been expected to produce greater doctrinal changes, proved to be not so much innovators as the watchdogs of the existing dogmatic theology which they set out to formulate

scientifically. Thus, while the greatest religious painters the world has ever known were painting their conceptions of the Crucifixion, the dominant doctrine of the Atonement remained substantially the same, a theory which regarded the death of Christ as a sacrifice made for sin. It was a conception which harmonised with the typical emphasis of mediæval theology on penance and the Sacrifice of the Mass, where the doctrine of penance emphasised the necessity for sacrifice and the Mass was interpreted mainly as Sacrifice for Sin.

While this theory of the Atonement was dominant any variation in its sculptural or pictorial representation would be determined by the personal reactions of individual artists, the general characteristics of the various schools, and by such outside influences as the recrudescences of evangelical fervour which occurred from time to time, and the encroachments of humanism. If the Franciscans and Dominicans did not materially affect religious art through their influence on doctrine, they did so in this way by their part in moulding the religious spirit of the Middle Ages. Another example of an outside influence which encouraged the representation of the Crucifixion was the fiery eloquence of such preachers as Savonarola, who gave vivid descriptions of the sufferings of Christ, painted lurid pictures of the horrors of Hell and morbidly exalted the value of physical anguish and asceticism, in order to turn men's hearts from the decadence which was already creeping in as an accompaniment of the Renaissance. Another closely related influence which encouraged representations of the subject was the Passion Mysticism or Devotion to the Passion which was periodically very popular among the devout. Theology and piety joined in concentrating the attention of the spiritually minded upon the Passion and Death of Christ, and the appeal of the Cross as a martyrdom took hold of men's hearts then as never before or since. 'The whole life of Christ was a Cross and a Martyrdom,' said Thomas à Kempis, in his '*Imitatio Christi*,' and the attitude of the Christian which he encouraged was that which entered with loving compassion into the unspeakable sufferings of Christ. Under impulses such as these, it was natural that the note of triumph which had characterised the early Church should be lost in the morbid and gloomy contemplation

of the sacred wounds. The 'Triumph-Crucifix' was displaced by one in which the Christ, clad only in a loin-cloth, both His feet pierced by one nail, is dead, His head hung down upon His breast.

The Northern artists revealed how psychological considerations affected the representation of the subject. Their conceptions were always particularly tragic due to their literal and realistic temper, contrasted with the more logical Italians. Their art was altogether more subjective and it would seem—and it is apposite to the present subject—that they had a deeper sense of sin. To the Italian, sin was a more or less soft and venial infirmity of the flesh, but to the Flemish—and above all, the Germans, who took life much more seriously—sin had a power which they realised with tragic intensity and which coloured with deeper tragedy the sufferings and sacrifice of Him who died for those sins. To the Flemish and Germans, the Cross and Passion were above all an agony and bloody sweat, to represent which no details were too gruesome or horrible to introduce. Even the commercially minded Jan van Eyck, when he painted his famous 'John Arnolfini and his wife,' which is in the National Gallery, could not forbear filling the twelve little spaces on the frame of the mirror which hangs upon the wall with tragic scenes from the Passion. But it is in the work of Roger van der Weyden that we find this sense of tragedy insisted upon to the degree that it outweighs all other considerations, and from him, through Memling, to Durer, we find little more than a preoccupation with the purely tragic aspects of the subject. Indeed, the works of some of the lesser German masters, such as the artist of the Westphalian School Crucifixion in the National Gallery, seem to have been painted purely for the purpose of lacerating our feelings and horrifying us with their ghastliness. There is no atmosphere of spirituality about them, only the air of a charnel-house, which suggests that the artist has understood nothing of the inner meaning of the event he was depicting. Roger van der Weyden was typical of a higher type of tragic art than this; yet in his work the groups of wailing figures, their gaunt eyes gazing at the Cross, their hands wringing convulsively up to heaven, and the landscape background, which is bare and arid, as though nature,

too, had been petrified when Christ was slain—all speak of tragedy with no hint foreshadowing the triumph of the Resurrection. There is none of the native blitheness of art here, none of that ‘smiling through its tears’ of the religious spirit, of which Hegel speaks. In Italy, with the exception of Ferrara, where the influence of Roger was felt, the tragic aspect of the Cross was less emphasised. With the Franciscans it was treated as a historical event and the women were presented as weeping, and the soldiers as disputing, before the Cross, dramatically enough, for example, by Giotto, but without accentuation of the tragedy. Fra Angelico, working under the more scholarly influence of the Dominicans, evoked a theological rather than a historical statement of the event. His ‘Christ on the Cross’ is full of spiritual significance, a symbol of divine sacrifice, an illustration of something deeper than an event in human history—of the eternal dealings of God with man.

But the Dominican influence upon religious art proved to be revolutionary in its effects. By appealing to reason and teaching men to use their intelligence, they unwittingly but irrevocably opened the door not only to the Renaissance but to the Reformation as well. The new learning which they invoked led to artists making their religious paintings nothing more than points of departure for essays in technical dexterity, and in that way to the de-spiritualising of religious art. The artists of the High Renaissance were satisfied to be masters of anatomy rather than spiritual teachers. The Crucifixion remained one of their popular subjects, if only because the Church was still the principal patron of art and, paying the piper, could call the tune; but if the artists delighted in it, it was not because they realised its spiritual significance, but because the agony of the Cross provided such opportunities for painting the nude and accomplishing *tours de force* in the depicting of muscular strain and stress. The exhibition of horrors, tolerable when painted by the sweet and saintly Fra Angelico, became merely wearisome when carried out to order by artists who were making their subjects little more than an excuse for a display of their mastery of anatomy and perspective and would have much preferred to have been painting pagan love scenes from the Greek mythology. In the sixteenth century

this humanistic religious art reached its climax. The focus of artistic interest had shifted to Venice, and of the great Venetians of that time, only Tintoretto, who had himself gone through a religious experience, seems to have been profoundly interested in the Crucifixion. His fellows were preoccupied more with the spirit of pomp and pageantry, with glorifying human power rather than Divine Sacrifice; and the Christ, though He continued to be a historical person in the scenes depicted, was of no more significance than Jupiter or Venus. Titian's 'Crucifixion' in the Louvre, for example, shows a Christ who is no more than a brawny, struggling, fleshy man who, outraged and indignant, violently resents His executioners.

Religious art was now ready for the revolution, which was the Reformation. The Reformers were so prejudiced against an art which had been the accompaniment and, to them, a contributory cause, of so much decadence, that the doctrinal displacement of the Satisfaction theory by the Penal Substitution theory had little opportunity of being reflected in art, even had such changes lent themselves to pictorial or sculptural demonstration. Durer made the Passion the theme of two of his immortal series of woodcuts, but these follow the traditional mediæval conception of the Crucifixion. It is doubtful, in fact, how far Durer was affected by the Reformation. The Great and Little Passion woodcuts were both published before Luther had burned the Papal Bull in the marketplace of Wittenberg or nailed his theses on Papal Indulgences to the great door of its church. Durer was certainly personally greatly attached to Luther and has been referred to as a Lutheran, yet entries in his journal of payments to his confessor, appear to suggest that he remained a Catholic all his life. One of the first Protestant pictures of the Crucifixion is that assigned to Lucas Cranach in the church at Weimar. It is theological in its conception, for beside the Cross is a group of St John Baptist with Luther and Melancthon. Luther is holding an open book and is pointing out a passage with a very argumentative expression, but Christ, with shut eyes and a weary expression, is turning His head away as though impatient of doctrinal differences.

But the influence of the Reformation which was of the  
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greatest significance in the history of the Crucifixion in art, was its provocation of the Counter-Reformation and the scenes of horror which resulted from it. Inspired by the teachings of Ignatius Loyola and his Jesuits, the Church, closing the stable door after the horse had escaped, deserted the epicureanism which had been the cause of its downfall and, repentant, returned to the Catholic ideals of fasting and castigation. Paganism quailed before the Inquisition and with it art, too, was cast out, *until* its potentialities as a propaganda arm of the Church were realised. The Church built hundreds of churches and employed hundreds of artists to paint altar panels for them and to decorate their walls and ceilings. As a reaction against the profligacy and paganism which they felt to have vitiated Renaissance art, there was a complete change of subject. Those in which the Olympian joyfulness of the High Renaissance had most delighted were now painted least, and the pictures of martyrdom which had been left severely alone by the latter-day 'golden age' were reintroduced. As the Renaissance had glorified the radiant health, the muscular power, and the capacity for enjoyment of the human body, the Counter-Reformation praised its ability to suffer. The true function of art, it was decided, was to move even the hardest of hearts by a presentation of the awful sufferings of the Saints and, above all, of Jesus Christ. Christ was crowned with thorns, pricks sent the blood bursting from His brow, and the legends of the Saints were searched for the most shockingly bloodthirsty deeds. Gothic realism was invading Italian art, and from their union there was springing the Baroque with all its extravagant manifestations. A religion which, more than any other, made martyrs of its opponents, delighted in pictures which portrayed the sufferings of its own martyrs, and, in illustrating the past, it revealed all the horrors of its greatest allies, the torture chamber and the Inquisition.

This macabre art had a special appeal to the artists of the Spanish School which, if it did not have its origin in the art of the Counter-Reformation, did at least receive vital impulses from it. Inherent in this school there was a morbid craving for emotion of a purely physical kind, and representation of the Crucifixion in a manner that would move the spectator to pity and even to terror was



an answer to this craving. What agony El Greco could express! What a gloomy monasticism runs through the art of Zurbarban! With what tragic realism does Velasquez depict Christ upon the Cross! How realistic, yet how unnatural it all is! The Flemish master, Rubens, was another typically Jesuit artist. Though, in most of his work, he was nearer to the voluptuous pageant art of Venice than to the prosaic realism of Spain, yet in his 'Elevation of the Cross' he has given a characteristically Jesuit conception of the theme, choosing, as he has done, to depict the most agonising moment of the tragedy. But the Counter-Reformation was reflected also in the Crucifixion pictures of its opponents. The bitter satires of Breughel are full of the tragedy of the fight for political and religious independence which the Netherlands waged so long. In his country, Alva and Titellman were robbing, burning, strangling, and tearing out tongues, and the silent opposition of Breughel was the painting of pictures which, though disguised as allegories or Scriptural illustrations, were none the less tragic comments on the persecution of the Inquisition. His 'Road to Calvary,' for example, was a record of a procession of Titellman's victims to a barren place outside a city where those condemned by the tribunal were broken on the wheel, strangled, burned alive, and hanged.

In only one corner of Europe was there an artist working who could depict the events of the Passion with utter sincerity, but without propaganda purpose, excessive emphasis on his technical means and accomplishment, or morbid preoccupation with the tragic aspects of the subject. Rembrandt was always able to reveal the spirituality which was masked by the rough, coarse exterior of his Christs, and his etchings of the Passion are no exception. He seems to have avoided the central incident upon Calvary; but such illustrations as his 'Pilate washing his hands' will ever be immortal. Since the end of the sixteenth century the spirit of the world has been against the representation of the Crucifixion in art. The frivolity and rationalism of the eighteenth century and the materialism of the nineteenth were alike unfavourable to a sincere realisation of its meaning. Even had it been so (and in the eighteenth century there was one movement, that of the Pietists, which was

closely related to the Passion mysticism of the Middle Ages and might have similarly encouraged the subject), yet the devout would not have welcomed its representation in art as much as they did its imagery in their hymns. Modernists and evangelicals alike would probably agree to-day that it is a subject best left alone and that the early fathers, in the reserve they displayed, were wise in their generation. Pictorial representation of the Crucifixion has the dangerous tendency of encouraging a morbid and unreal devotion—religiosity rather than spirituality, and of emphasising the dying rather than the eternally living Christ. To-day we feel, perhaps, that in the representation of such a subject as this, an event which put the world of sense to naught, symbolism is more effective than realism. An analogy might be drawn from pictures painted of scenes from the Great War. To many people the stark landscapes of Paul Nash, with their utter desolation, symbolically, rather than realistically depicted, were more potent illustrations of the horrors of war and more powerful as pacifist propaganda, than any photographically real illustration of actual carnage. In the same way, Holman Hunt, one of the few great religious painters of the nineteenth century, was giving the subject of the Crucifixion more effective presentation by treating it symbolically, as he did in his 'Scapegoat,' than if he had depicted it realistically as a chamber of horrors.

CHARLES CARTER.

## Art. 9.—THE SOCIALIST UPHEAVAL IN SPAIN.

OF the French Revolution Napoleon said : ' A revolution is one of the greatest evils through which this earth can be afflicted. It is the plague of the generation that causes it and any advantage gained from it can never equal the trouble it causes its authors. It enriches the poor but leaves them still dissatisfied, upsets everything, and from the beginning is a misfortune to every one, giving happiness to none. Ours has seemed irresistibly fatal.'

Perhaps this judgment will be considered as rather severe, more especially as it came from a man whose career was aided by revolutions, but alas, in making it he was right, as it still is and always will be right. The old saying that a bad government is better than a good revolution should never be forgotten. It is an expression of wisdom ; but, unhappily, its wisdom is seldom heeded. Doubtless its truth was not overlooked in Spain when in the most trifling and frivolous manner the Republic was proclaimed in April 1931, overturning the throne of King Alphonso XIII after the country had been governed by him for many years with patriotism and intelligence. Gratitude and loyalty were due to him, but the masses of his people are ungrateful. During his reign the country had not suffered from war, or lack of work, or bad crops, or public dilapidations, or any difficulties, hence there was no reason for that revolution which upset everything in the Peninsula and created nothing. The names of streets, of steamers, hospitals, retreats have been changed to remove all visible signs of the Monarchy ; statues were thrown from their pedestals and dragged in the mud ; the colours of the national flag were changed ; and effigies of Republican heroes were printed on postage stamps. Salaries have been increased, official motor-cars have been bought for the use of persons holding very minor positions, and money thrown away in all directions. When the Monarchy fell the Town Hall of Madrid had in its treasury a balance of seventy million pesetas. Some months later money had to be advanced in haste to the mayor to enable him to pay the staff, for absolutely no cash was left in the municipal coffers. The most foolish enterprises and useless works were undertaken, without any regard for expense, under strange and extravagant pretexts.

New ministries were created. The most austere Socialists were benefited through many arbitrary sources of revenue, and in the Chamber individuals who filled several well-paid jobs at once were pointed out as examples of cleverness, good to be followed. People had decried and been highly scandalised by the so-called immoralities of the Monarchy, but any such iniquities were eclipsed by those of the Republic. It all was a gay orgy. The period of the seven fat kine had started and the people generally made the most of it.

Naturally a régime built on such a foundation carries in itself the germs of disorder and anarchy. In Spain those consequences matured within a very short time. The imprudent promises contained in the Republican programme of San Sebastian, made without the slightest idea as to how they could be fulfilled, had pledged the Republic to the Separatists of Catalonia as well as to those of the northern Basque provinces, flattering their dreams of independence. At the same time the extremist elements awaited the promised division of land, as well as the abolition of the so-called privileges of the nobility, which had not existed in Spain for several centuries, as the Spanish aristocracy had always been deeply democratic, and even in the Middle Ages feudality never had the same importance there as it enjoyed in other parts of Europe. However, to satisfy the extremists, laws were passed abolishing those non-existent privileges as well as the *grandees* of Spain and the titles of nobility. The postal authorities received strict orders to allow no letters to be delivered to titled persons, whose names also disappeared from the telephone directory. It was laughable, but yet was pandering to the desires of the masses.

The sharing out of land was made under most arbitrary conditions. An agrarian law was agreed to in a fevered, partial, and hostile Chamber; in this law injustice was innate and its application was most fantastic. Its victims were persons whose names and social status were well known, undoubtedly with the object of making striking examples. For instance, land was taken from the Duchess de San Carlos, the chief lady-in-waiting at court, as well as from the Marquis de Viana, whose father was honoured by the friendship of King Alphonso XIII; from the Duke de Medinaceli, and from the Duke de Alba,

great personages known throughout Spain. Thanks to the redivision of land, it is a curious fact that country people are in a more difficult situation than ever before. When they were dependent on the land-owners, they were helped by the landlord, who accepted delays of payment if the harvest was poor and awaited better times in which to receive his revenue. But at present it is the State, inflexible and swift to action, which claims its due implacably, and from which no pity is to be expected, for it is not human. Naturally, the owners of confiscated property had no right to the least indemnity.

The religious question was also dealt with violently and not impartially in the Constituent Assembly. No account was taken of the services that the religious orders were rendering the country in the education of hundreds of thousands of children, to whom they taught trades in most modern workshops. A similar implacable spirit secured the expulsion of the Jesuits with the confiscation of their properties; while the same thing has happened to the private property of the King without the shadow of any right to justify such attacks on private possessions.

The Socialist leaders, Señores Indalecio Prieto and Largo Caballero, directed those attacks against former leaders of society with vigour and perseverance. The first of them, with violent and passionate eloquence as used by him at popular meetings, fulminated in the Chamber, where recently he was to be seen stressing his point with a revolver, which he took out of his pocket but happily did not use. Señor Largo Caballero, with cunning, has done deeper and more destructive work in his ministry by making laws and issuing decrees expressing the pure essence of Marxism. These two, who have risen from the most humble positions, have shown proof of such a spirit of destruction and pillage as marks them out as disciples of Moscow. The evil-minded accuse them of having enriched themselves through such methods; but let us hope that is only gossip. It is certain that they are amongst the most responsible for the state of affairs in Spain during the last three years.

When the Peninsula was governed by a dictatorship, General Primo de Rivera, who disorganised all other political parties, respected Socialism, enabling it to grow strong and tending to its being strictly organised. When

he fell, this was the only party that counted, all the others being in utter confusion. It is said that Primo de Rivera, in exchange for his benevolence, had received from the Socialist leaders an assurance of social peace, untroubled by the strikes, riots, brawls, or other turbulence usually encouraged by over-aggressive parties.

Socialism was also aided in Spain by the unexpected help it received from certain society 'snobs,' who thought it smart to become partisans of ideas which might bring about the destruction of the special conditions in which they lived. Elegant ladies and men of the highest standing supported the Socialist leaders and formed a sort of clique called 'The Intellectuals.' One of the masters of Spanish literature, the greatest of all, whose wit is inexhaustible, said, 'They are called the Intellectuals because they cannot be called the Intelligents.' That saying was true and just. Hence the Socialists were already a formidable force when Primo de Rivera fell. The Berenguer and Aznar Ministries which succeeded him had not power enough to resist the movement towards revolution, which was increasing daily. Further, after the disappearance of General Primo de Rivera the Socialists were freed from the compromises which had kept them calm and orderly. Strikes at once were started for most futile reasons. Attacks against employers and against workmen who did not help in the strikes happened daily. The political atmosphere became feverish. In Barcelona, Seville, Saragossa, Bilbao, and elsewhere the fear of an outbreak, always possible and frequently certain, weighed on the anxieties of the people and created a nervousness propitious for any alarm and shock. In such an atmosphere all folly developed rapidly, for elements which might have been hostile became disordered, thereby wasting the little force and influence they had in by-the-way political disputes, spending their strength in empty speeches, but, unhappily, full of personal ill-feeling against the King, who was accused of all sorts of delinquencies, though the speakers must have known there was no truth in the accusations.

Strikes invariably started in much the same way. Orders were sent out—even before the revolution—from the 'Casa del Pueblo' (the House of the People), which was established in the old palace of the Dukes de Bejar,

a superb patrician residence which by the irony of fate, after having entertained the best of the Madrid aristocracy under its roof, had been sold to the Socialists. From that centre orders were despatched even to the smallest country villages, where, though in most cases the Houses of the People were more modest than headquarters, they were none the less active and strong. Naturally those Houses were used as places of refuge for members who were being prosecuted and also as hiding-places for arms, as was seen recently in Madrid, where, shortly before the last insurrection, deposits of dynamite, machine-guns, rifles, revolvers, and hundreds of other weapons, with ammunition, were discovered in the Casa del Pueblo.

All strikes, legal or otherwise, have their origins in the Casa del Pueblo, and thence also comes resistance against the established power. The procedure is always the same, and, it may be assumed, is directed from Moscow. Once a strike is declared, groups of workmen form here and there, with the purpose of dividing the loyal forces. They insult the policemen and soldiers, and then throw stones and bricks at them, trying their patience, irritating them, injuring them; then the strikers begin to advance, in some cases, it is said, putting into their first line children and women. Naturally, sooner or later there is trouble. Possibly a soldier less patient than the others fires, his comrades follow suit, and fighting begins, when generally the strikers run away, to reunite elsewhere and resume the same tactics, at the same time pillaging stores and attacking private houses. Insults and blows are the lot of any unfortunate people who happen to be near them. When such victims as have been killed are buried, it is made a pretext for further riots, while the strikes become more general and render practically impossible the normal life of the community, until an *impasse* is reached. Generally there is a compromise then, but as a rule its effect seems only to have been to weaken the central power and produce on it such an effect as is caused by blows on the human body, which bruise the tissues and leave it predisposed to disease. As a preparation for a revolution there is nothing better than a series of strikes. The time that passed between the departure of General Primo de Rivera and the advent of the Republic was largely employed in those processes which



one day after another, with or without pretext, sapped the foundations of the Government, whose authority speedily diminished, crumbling by reason of the perpetual shocks which had rendered its existence intolerable. Strikes are formidable, especially when promoted by leaders without conscience.

At last the revolution came, and in April 1931 the Republic was declared as a consequence of the municipal elections, though these as a whole gave a Monarchist majority and only in certain important towns favoured the Republicans. If the King had desired to risk the possibility of a civil war, it is practically certain that he would have kept his crown, but chivalrous and loyal to the end, he did not wish blood to be shed for him, and with the Royal Family he left for exile after a glorious reign—as history will record.

Spain fell at once into the grip of Syndicalist Socialism, for other Republican political groups were surpassed by the daring and violence of the Socialists, who tried their very advanced social theories with catastrophic results, as might have been expected. But they still continued and persevered in their errors to carry out Moscow doctrines.

The principal Socialist chiefs were Indalecio Prieto, formerly a workman; Largo Caballero, formerly a mason; Beistero; Fernando de las Rios, an intellectual; Manuel Azana, formerly an employé of the Monarchy, and a last-minute Socialist. A sharp, aggressive sectarian spirit was evident in all of them. Nothing was enough for them and no one knew which was the most to be feared—the massive attacks of Indalecio Prieto, like the blows of a pugilist; the clever schemes of Largo Caballero to undermine the sacred foundations of society; or the dart-like artfulness of Azana, who, promoted to be the President of the Cabinet after the election of the President of the Republic, was for nearly two years like a tyrant of old times tormenting and bleeding Spain. It was one long nightmare for the country. Those who had longed for a Republic, thinking it would bring law, order and happiness, were well served by the results. Rustic property decreased in value by fifty per cent., urban estates fell terribly, industrial stocks and shares dropped to nothing, several factories were closed, and social order was very seriously disturbed.

Little by little a movement toward the Right started. It was a protest, a reaction against abuses and violence. In the country and among the saner town people Socialist procedure was distasteful, and all sorts of calamities were predicted unless the country were liberated from the tyranny that was wreaking more ruin daily. Then a new politician appeared, in whom the people saw a possible saviour of the national order and economy. Señor Jose Maria Gil Robles began the strenuous task of uniting the dispersed elements of that new reaction. To attain his object, tact was necessary, as well as extraordinary energy and a knowledge of men and things not given to all; but the Señor was animated with an almost religious spirit of patriotism, combined with purity of ideals and an iron will. His task was to reunite the Spanish nation. In all multitudes sentiments exist which enable individuals to be welded into one mass, just as the alloy of varied metals produces a uniform and indestructible whole. When this movement was noticed a hope of resurrection stirred Spain out of her inertia.

Rapidly the C.E.D.A. (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights), as the new party was named, gained ground, gathered strength, and began to count in Spanish politics. Señor Gil Robles courageously continued his campaign, travelled incessantly, making speeches which roused his hearers from the fear and distrust which had bound them and made them conscious of their strength. Perhaps the greatest service done by Gil Robles was his restoring confidence, and so stimulating the people to react and employ their enormous powers and renewed energy for the defence and salvation of Spain, which until then, thanks to the Socialists, Anarchists, Bolsheviks and Syndicalists, was going to ruin.

Owing to the manoeuvres of the Socialists and of the Left, the Constitutional Chamber had remained for many months, illegally, though profitably for certain persons who had no wish to end a state of things of which they took shameless advantage. Its eventual dissolution brought the country face to face with new elections, which now would express national wishes, whereas the previous elections had been perverted by trickery, acts of violence, and malpractices at the voting stations.

The elections gave the expected result. The Right

obtained an enormous triumph, while the Left suffered a striking defeat. Gil Robles has in his party a group of 118 deputies, Señor Lerroux and his followers (Radical) 85, the Socialists 60, Monarchists and Traditionalists 50. The remaining seats out of a Chamber of 470 were distributed amongst political groups of no particular importance. This victory gave the Right, led by Gil Robles, the control of Spanish politics.

Naturally the Socialists could not accept such a defeat. Obstacles were multiplied against the Government. Incessant and lasting strikes took place. They tried to dissolve the Chamber, and finally, with party funds or aid from elsewhere, masses of arms were bought and the general revolutionary strike was prepared, which broke out just after the fall of the Samper Cabinet and the formation of the Lerroux Ministry, in which Señor Gil Robles' party had representatives.

The help of the Catalan Separatists was counted on; it seems that Señor Azana had busied himself with that in the summer of last year. They were to declare the independence of Catalonia, with the aid of 50,000 men, including part of the troops garrisoned in Barcelona and the remainder composed of local militia, believed to be faithful to the directors of the Separatist movement. Had this plan been successful, it would have created enormous difficulty for the Government; for a civil war, always dangerous, would have been complicated in this case by the revolutionary strike and have caused confusion throughout the country.

Señor Companys, the President of the Catalanian Government, and his friends, thinking the moment opportune, proclaimed the independence of Catalonia and issued a proclamation to the country declaring Catalonia free (it had never been enslaved) and asking for the aid of soldiers and patriots to offer armed resistance against a possible attack from Castille. He also sent a message to General Batet, the military governor of Barcelona, summoning him with his troops to side with the Catalanists. General Batet asked for one hour in which to consider the position, and at the end of that hour marched against the Palace of the Generality (Generalidad), which served as a refuge for the Catalanists. He ordered them to surrender. This unforeseen event caused trouble and

confusion in the ranks of the Separatists. Meantime desperate messages were sent by wireless to every part of Catalonia asking for the aid of local militias and of all true patriots. Not one moved, no one joined Señor Companys and his friends. General Batet announced his intention of firing on the refuge of the Catalanists if they did not surrender; several did so, while the rest fled by way of the sewers and managed to enter France, eventually taking refuge in Toulouse. The French authorities were obliged to request them to leave owing to their anti-Spanish demonstrations. Catalan independence had lasted only a few hours, being stillborn by reason of the indifference of people who were relied upon to help but who did nothing. For in the eyes of the 'Internationale' cosmopolitan association it had not the slightest importance. Companys and his friends were imprisoned and await the decisions of the military tribunals. This downfall of Catalonian endeavour was indeed a stroke of luck for the Government.

Unhappily, the general revolutionary strike had become extensive in the north and north-west of Spain. In San Sebastian and Bilbao the miners and factory hands, militarily organised, had held their own against the loyal forces. From all sides deaths were reported as well as of considerable damage done. The army had been wonderful, loyal and brave during all those troubles. Though the Catalonian fiasco had robbed the Socialists of their trump card, they continued the strike by employing ultra-modern arms—machine-guns, incendiary liquids, gas bombs, etc.—which had been deposited in the Houses of the People and other hiding-places, only a few of which had been discovered by the police when the strike began.

In the Asturias and mainly at Gijon and Oviedo the fighting was serious. A warship was sent to the former port and bombarded the houses which the Socialist Anarchists had fortified. There were many murders, bank robberies and shops were pillaged.

In Oviedo the situation was most tragic. For nine days rioters from the town and those who had flocked into it from the adjacent mines and factories were masters of the town. It was all a horrible and incessant nightmare. Hundreds were murdered savagely, sometimes

with cruel refinement. Priests and nuns in particular were persecuted. One canon of the cathedral, it is alleged, had his legs cut off; then was hung on a ladder, and set on fire after being sprinkled with petrol. Another was suspended by the neck outside a butcher's shop and beneath the body was a notice: 'Pork Sold Here.' One priest was taken together with other prisoners to the cemetery, where a grave had been dug: there the victims were shot and thrown in; the priest was asked to deliver a funeral oration for the dead, and when he had finished his address was killed with two rifle shots, when his body was thrown in with the others. Women and children also were murdered, and in Oviedo alone the civil victims number approximately 1000. Including the soldiers and rebels killed the total number of deaths was over 3000 victims. Whilst the rebels thus were shedding blood, others of the Socialists and Anarchists spent their time in creating havoc, pillaging stores—several women were seen at that—and robbing banks. The branch office of the Bank of Spain was deprived in that way of nearly 14,000,000 pesetas in gold and bank-notes. The floors of the bank were found strewn with torn notes, perhaps to show that money was no longer of use. In other banks the deposits were stolen.

Naturally, everything possible was set on fire. Hundreds of houses were burnt from the foundation to the roof, only the walls remaining. Part of the Cathedral crashed, and under the ruins, probably destroyed, are works of art of the greatest value, especially Roman and Byzantine jewels, of which the Basilica possessed many. Quantities of dynamite were used to destroy buildings which could not be set fire to. Thus the University, a splendid building with an invaluable library containing several thousand books, amongst which hundreds were unique, was reduced to atoms by the explosion of two tons of dynamite, which also destroyed several houses facing the University. Some of the debris, it is said, was thrown more than three miles, and fell like the stones from a volcanic eruption.

Monetary losses are estimated to exceed 200,000,000 pesetas; the region of the Asturias has suffered an economic setback of from forty to fifty years, the sinister business of destruction having succeeded so well. The

disciples of Moscow should be satisfied with this result of the efficacy of their doctrines.

It may be said that the Socialist party practically perished when the strike was declared. Not one of the chiefs had the courage to lead the workmen fighting for their cause. Prudently they hid during the whole time. Señor Largo Caballero disguised himself as a hospital practitioner. In ordinary life he is clean shaven, but to throw the police off the scent he wore a false moustache and small beard, an overall and white trousers; he hoped to escape and reach the nearest frontier. After a few days in hiding he was arrested in the garden of his home, for this Socialist leader possesses a delightful hotel in the modern part of Madrid, where he can rest at ease and contemplate the woes of the unfortunate proletariat. He is now in prison. Señor Azana disappeared from Barcelona immediately after the downfall of the independent Catalanian republic. He was suspected of having followed his colleagues of that ephemeral nation through the sewers of the town; but some days later the police found him hiding behind the door in the home of one of his friends. He denies having had anything to do with the misplaced effort, and offers as proof of his innocence a legal memorandum in which it is affirmed under oath that in his conferences with the Catalonians he had tried to persuade them not to declare the independence of Catalonia. As for Señor Indalecio Prieto, he had no desire to invent a new manner of flight. He merely hid during the riots and took care not to be present at any of them. Then after some time had passed he escaped on board a little boat and landed near St Jean de Luz, whence he travelled by sleeping-car—always as a good Socialist enjoying his comfort—to Paris, where he hired an apartment near the Place de la Concorde. In interviews with journalists he has declared that though the chiefs of his party ordered him not to appear at the Chamber—in which they showed their prudence—he was disposed to continue the fight, being sure of victory, as Socialism was a force more powerful than ever. Perhaps he hopes to delude himself, but the truth is that the Socialists have suffered a defeat from which they will not recover for a long time, as the majority of the work-people have lost their faith in such fights, from which they

alone suffer, seeing that whilst they confront the dangers of death, their chiefs hide and avoid such risks. They are always used as cannon-fodder. The result is that now they are deserting the Socialist-Anarchist associations and joining the Fascist and Catholic syndicates. Moreover, it is known that the coffers of the party are empty, and it is said that some of the leaders found it prudent to remove their deposits. Perhaps this rumour is without foundation, but more pitiful things have been found true in this world.

Unhappily their criminal attempt has weakened Spain, even though the masses responded so well to the call of the Government and the army has been most patriotic throughout; but the riots, murders, pillaging, terror, and alarms have caused widespread uneasiness, which continues lest those disasters are renewed.

The Government must show strength and justify its power, which means that well-thought-out, careful decisions must be applied with judgment and calm. A dictatorship might offer the required firmness of rule, but even with the utmost desire for the contrary it might cause alarm to the general people.

The troubles which accompany a change in régime are complex and profound, and bring forth unexpected side-issues and often unhealthy fears which would be forgotten under normal conditions. The maxim that a bad government is better than a good revolution is worth remembering. Spain has had a sorrowful experience of its truth, and God alone knows to what it may lead! The Spanish problem, which already has set Europe on fire, may reassert itself under conditions which would attract the attention of the governments already distraught by Balkan and other problems increased by the Treaty of Versailles. When a building is in flames, all property in the neighbourhood is in danger, and such a condition might happen now. Then the only possible hope would rest in the mercies of Heaven. Armed intervention in Spain is inadvisable, for the effects of Napoleon's campaign in the Peninsula would be repeated almost certainly. Spain under such conditions is a wasp's nest which had better not be disturbed.

Notwithstanding the infinite resources of vitality retained by a nation, the reconstitution of Spain after



these years of rough usage will not be easy. Faith and hope have been lost because of the selfishness of political parties under the Monarchy. Recent happenings are not of a nature to raise the discouraged national spirit. The fine reaction against Socialist barbarity—so contrary to Spanish traditions—might be utilised as an opportunity for securing the desirable restoration. If only advantage is taken of it, Spain will recover the equilibrium so necessary for its welfare.

Perhaps a little calm and respite would be welcome, and it is possible that Señor Jose Maria Gil Robles might ensure it, for he possesses extraordinary political talent. His quiet firmness, resolution, straightforwardness, and imperturbable sense of justice make him a chief capable of establishing order out of the present chaos and of giving prosperity once more to the Peninsula. Perhaps he is God's elect, appearing, as sometimes happens, at a turning point in history, in which case we may hope for convalescence soon and recovery later, in a land which has been sorely tried.

MAURICIO LOPEZ ROBERTS,  
MARQUIS DE LA TORREHERMOSA.

## Art. 10.—SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

1. *Isaac Newton : A Biography.* By Louis Trenchard More. London : Scribners, 1934.
2. *The Bicentenary of Newton's Death.* 'Nature,' vol. 119 (March 26, 1927).
3. *Newton : The Man.* By R. de Villamil. Knox, 1931.
4. *Isaac Newton : 1642-1727.* Edited by W. J. Greenstreet. Bell, 1927.
5. *Sir Isaac Newton.* By Professor S. Brodetsky. Methuen, 1927.
6. *Newton and the Origin of Colours.* By Michael Roberts and E. R. Thomas. Bell, 1934.

A WARM welcome is due to Professor More's new biography of our greatest man of science. Not since 1855, when Sir David Brewster's two-volumed memoir was published, has there been a successful attempt to describe at full-length the whole life and the varied activities of Sir Isaac Newton. Brewster took immense trouble with his work and handled much of his material with insight. His judgments upon the scientific work of Newton were generally sound and often penetrating, but he was temperamentally averse to giving us a credible portrait of the man himself. He was an industrious and learned compiler, not a biographer. He presented the shadow rather than the man. He did not try to discover what was actuating Newton or to resolve the enigmas of his conduct; even in the gentler art of building up the portrait touch by touch and disclosing his man at the critical moments he bungled; as Dr More has found, he deliberately kept back some of the revealing episodes because to him they appeared to uncrown his king.

This new, 'full-length' and authoritative life definitely supersedes not only Brewster but most of the smaller books that have appeared since. The author is a professor of physics in Cincinnati with a wide knowledge of the history of Newton's time and interests in biography and general philosophy. He has had access to a larger collection of Newton's personal and unpublished papers, and to 'Newtonia' generally, than previous biographers. He seems to have put an immense amount of thought and work into the biography and taken particular pains to

reveal the many-sidedness of Newton. This has not been done before. The book is a very long one, but the writing carries the reader forward. It is throughout of great interest; it is one for perpetual dips. The broad humanity of the man is revealed in it and in the speeches at the bicentenary of Newton's death reported in the 'Nature' supplement, also in Colonel de Villamil's interesting little book. Newton is one who inspires admiration in the general reader but hardly deep affection. For this reason, despite the man's greatness and the importance of his life-work, no biographer can do for him what Lockhart did for Scott or Boswell for Johnson.

There is one startling error of omission. Those who are sufficiently interested in Newton to read through Professor More's book are bound to be interested in the relation of the work of Einstein and the moderns to the 'classical' physics which Newton founded. In a short book there is excuse for leaving out an account of this topical relation; in Professor More's the omission is regrettable; and it is the more unfortunate because it is deliberate. Professor More shows himself out of sympathy with some of the recent developments of science, especially in theory. He writes disparagingly of 'electronic structures,' 'modern cosmogonies,' and the 'hypothetical science' now in the ascendant. Criticism of this kind, mistakenly thrown out in defence of Newton, is, as a fact, uninformed; it shows a strange lack of judgment. Nothing in the physics of to-day, as we hope to show, weakens the value even when it questions the comprehensiveness of Newton's great discoveries.

Our greatest scientist, like Shakespeare, our greatest poet, and Cromwell, perhaps our greatest man of action, was born a Midlander. Like other great British scientists—Darwin, Faraday, Clerk Maxwell—he preferred the contemplative life to any other; he was never happier than when alone. It is probable he wanted to slip through life with the minimum of contacts with his fellows. He was shy, sensitive, timorous, kindly, deadly serious in all he did, almost without humour. Your hearty man of action would criticise him as 'worthy.' He has been accused of being touchy, a morbid disliker of opposition, and at once quarrelsome and afraid of controversy. There is no real evidence for this. It is true he was not a

jolly man who liked slapping people on their backs and telling them they were fine fellows, but a solitary. He had an odd mixture of kindness of heart and power of criticism, of trust in his own work and wide interest in that of others, which led him at times to suffer fools much too gladly. In the reaction from this waste of powers and time he occasionally visited his irritation on better men. Yet at bottom he was a good man, simple, sincere, scrupulously honourable, God-fearing, trustworthy. Being what he was it was fortunate he lived when he did. The cramping influences on scientific discovery and speculative thought which had afflicted men like Copernicus and Galileo did not exist in the England of Charles II. Had Newton met a tithe of the difficulties that had been Galileo's it is probable he never would have penned a line. He was merely a child when King Charles's head was cut off and still a boy during the difficult times of the Commonwealth. He came to maturity in the expansive times that followed the Restoration when a brilliant intellectual age both on the Continent and in England was beginning. He was given the right advice about his future: to go to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted at nineteen in 1661. There the shy lad from Grantham, whose distinction at school had been not in mathematics but in experimental work, found in Isaac Barrow, the professor of mathematics, exactly the right teacher. He developed almost from zero at a fabulous rate. Five years later he had so mastered his medium and found himself, that he had laid the foundations of modern mechanics, and done the preliminary work for his discoveries of the differential calculus, the law of Gravitation and the composition of light. Those who are jealous of the enormous prestige in science of one of the goodliest fellowships on earth, that of Trinity, Cambridge, may perhaps find comfort in the reflexion that the brightest ideas came to Newton, not at the University, but, in retreat, at home near Grantham, in the plague year of 1665-66.

The quarter of a century between 1662 and 1687 was Newton's creative period in science. Most of his experimental work was in optics, where he had to invent or greatly to improve the instruments with which he made his investigations. He worked hard at the development

of the ideas in mechanics and gravitation which had come to him by his twenty-fourth year. Galileo's work on motion and Kepler's in astronomy were welded into a magnificent synthesis. Newton established terrestrial mechanics and showed that it was valid in celestial space. He removed the philosophical dogma from the basis of natural science by showing how nicely everything fitted in when knowledge began and ended with experiment, and when the simplest possible interpretation of experimental facts was preferred to all others. Much of the mathematics required for the calculations with which to test his theories had to be invented. He accordingly invented it. He seemed to have no difficulty in inventing everything he required, or in solving any problem that presented itself to him. The output recorded in his notebooks was gigantic; at times the work went forward at a rate which is the most remarkable in the history of science. What would we not now give for an accurate picture of his face in those memorable and intensely happy days as the results came tumbling from his active brain! The results were not immediately published as they would be to-day; there was delay for years, sometimes for many years. One reason for this is that Newton saw no special cause why his works should be broadcast to the world, or, alternatively, no reason why they should be published till everything was completely satisfactory to his scrupulously accurate and fastidious mind. There were less worthy motives. Newton had a hatred of publication because he imagined it exposed him to criticism and to vexatious claims of priority of discovery. There is a black list of irritating people who worried him in this way. There were fortunately others, such as Halley the astronomer, to whom the world of science owes a debt of gratitude. They not only encouraged Newton to get his work into order for publication but eventually by a form of encouragement that trenched on bullying took the matter of publication entirely from his hands.

The explanation of Newton's unparalleled output lies partly in the great grasp and breadth of his mind, partly in the remarkable insight he possessed into the ways of nature. It directed him unerringly to the right path so that neither time nor energy were lost in following up

paths that, in fact, led nowhere. The modern word 'hunch' describes the thing that is far superior in scientific work to any amount of cleverness. Nothing is more characteristic of a genius in science than that he is visited by the right 'hunches.' In this great period the turn of events which might have been so blasting to one of Newton's temperament made greatly, if not for his happiness, at least for his peace of mind. Trinity in due time made him a fellow. In 1669 Barrow obligingly retired from his Chair for the youthful Newton to become his successor. The infant Royal Society did its best to encourage him; even relieved him of his annual dues as fellow lest the payment might seem a hardship. When in due course it was required that Newton should take orders if he continued to retain his Chair the good offices of the king were sought that this necessity might be waived. It was waived, and Newton continued at Cambridge lecturing on mathematics and optics, and doing his own work, till he left to take up his post at the Mint.

Between 1687 and his appointment as Warden of the Mint in London—accepted with alacrity in 1696—Newton passed through the one unhappy period of his life. He was worried by his temperament; his health was indifferent; he was, or thought he was, poor and neglected, and he suffered bereavement. The appointment in Town made him by Charles Montagu, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—one of his few friends in the great world—brought him fresh happiness. His chief task at the Mint was to restore the coinage; he loved doing this and he did it well. Three years later the more lucrative post of Master of the Mint was given him, and on its handsome income he lived in dignity and even prosperity in the pleasant London of Queen Anne and George I. When it is realised that during the creative period science was only one of Newton's interests, it is not so remarkable that in the busy life in London his research should have diminished to a small thing. Controversy, a thing hated with all his soul, encouraged the retention of his interest; and his presidency of the Royal Society, which began in 1703 and continued till his death in 1727, kept him in constant touch with the best of the men of science. But there were no more theories like that of

gravitation or observations like those on the composition of light. The caged bird sang very little. His great powers remained to the end and were used in small ways with great, sometimes with devastating, success. But so interested was Newton in his administration that he actually grudged some of the time he was asked to devote to science. His attitude towards those who desired his help there was, on occasion, like that of a busy and amiable Minister of the Crown called out of an important Cabinet to help an importunate friend with a cross-word. During this time Newton's fame rose steadily; he had become one of the most famous men in Europe. Controversy was the main blot on the bright picture.

Minor anecdotes about Newton are one of the main sources of a once common conception of a man of learning. In exaggerated form it pictures him as a dreamy, moon-struck, untidy person, with snuff on the waistcoat, never sure of the time of day or whether or not he has already lunched; or as the very clever man who, nevertheless, can be fooled by a child; who for all his mathematical gifts and genius can neither add up a simple column of figures accurately or judge the proper change from a shilling. Many of the stories of Newton though unacceptable by the historian are fair evidence of the kind of man he was. Professor More has made an investigation of some of them with the thoroughness and insight which detectives show in fiction. The story of the little dog Diamond who upset a lighted candle over Newton's manuscripts, destroying years of work and so distressing him that he became temporarily deranged, is quite untrue. But some good stories survive. The account of Newton's being led to the theory of gravitation by seeing an apple fall to the ground in his orchard may be true; at the worst it cannot be certainly shown to be false. Newton was at times a dreamy person for obvious reasons: he had great powers of absorption in his work and detachment from mundane things, and he was temperamentally inclined to use this gift protectively when he was not actually at work. It is a great mistake, however, to imagine him an amiable good-for-nothing with a genius for science. However odd he might seem in an off time to a casual stranger, he was competent and practical when things had to be done. Whatever he set his hand



to he tried to do well, whether it was interpreting scripture or writing on Church history, in busying himself with chronology or reforming the coinage, in looking after the ne'er-do-weels among his relations or managing the family farm. His activities included making himself a good Christian as well as a good scientist, and, in science, in being a beautiful experimenter as well as a great theoriser and original mathematician. He even managed to live to the great age of eighty-two with a body initially so puny and frail as not to be expected to survive the first year. Where he failed, as in his chemical work, he failed because knowledge was insufficient.

One of the oddest yet most significant things about Newton revealed by Professor More, is his attitude towards his unparalleled scientific attainments. This was one of indifference, although not of complete indifference. His utterances about himself, such as the famous one where he compared himself to a boy playing on the shore while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before him, have generally been ascribed to the great modesty characteristic of the really great. But the truth is more than that. Newton was not, of course, so indifferent as to resist the impulse to continue thinking of scientific problems when the mood was upon him, but science was definitely something second-rate in his life. The thing of capital importance was to lead the good life and do the will of God. Religion, theology, science: that was the true order. He remained throughout a loyal and devout member of the Church of England, a decided Protestant in his views, with little opinion of the value of Church Councils; in particular he held the view very tenaciously that Arius was a better man than Athanasius. It is very probable that his inclination towards Arianism, greatly regretted by his friends, was the reason why he steadily resisted taking orders, though both for worldly prospects and for his science that step would have been expedient. He was throughout life a close student of the Bible; the Scriptures were his inspiration as well as a field for his activity. Those who have regarded this devotion as an aberration have placed it in his later life during the period of decay. Professor More shows quite clearly that the interest in religion and theology was lifelong. There was, moreover, no period of decay. Newton wrote

chiefly on the prophecies of Daniel and on the Apocalypse, where he combined erudition and acumen with boldness of speculation; in biblical criticism he wrote on 'two notable corruptions' of scripture, and, there, with more result. In the draft revision of the Prayer Book, rejected by Parliament in 1928, one of Newton's 'notable corruptions'—the famous verse about the heavenly witnesses in 1 John v, 7—was omitted; it was left out also in the Revised Version.

Prophecy and revelation, the subjects of his theological writings, were poles apart from the science and mathematics of the 'Principia.' Newton's mind was an excellent example of one which could combine daring speculation in a region where there was no adequate check on freedom of thought, with careful statement in another where everything said had to be accurately defined and to undergo the scrutiny of close observation and remorseless logic. It is probable that Newton believed his tendency towards Arianism might be a stumbling-block to the faith of others, but he had no doubt that his scientific work, in revealing the perfection of His ways, redounded to the glory of God. To him science revealed the ways of God to man and strengthened belief in the Christian faith. It was an unexpected and undeserved fate that the scientific system founded by the most deeply religious and theologically minded of our great men of science should last century have been held to describe a purely mechanical and completely unspiritual view of the universe. During the present century, it is true, the whole 'classical' conception of nature founded by Newton has been re-interpreted, and nineteenth-century materialism has now a grim fight to keep alive. Last century, however, the mechanical conception of the universe grew in popularity in the scientific world. Newton had discovered the laws according to which bodies of sensible dimensions move. Matter was thought of as aggregates of minute particles or atoms which obeyed Newton's laws of motion. Even the ether which filled all space was regarded as an elastic fluid, whose particles also obeyed the laws of motion of heavy bodies. The whole material universe, therefore, was thought to be nothing but a collection of particles having the known properties of matter in bulk. Since every particle moved

in accord with definite and rigid laws, the future course of events was exactly determined by the positions and velocities of the particles at any given moment. This led logically to determinism in philosophy ; with it free-will became an impossibility. It is a far cry from the gentle Newton in the Cambridge of the seventeenth century to the truculent John Tyndall in his address to the British Association at Belfast in 1874, yet Tyndall's startling views were a logical outcome of Newton's system.

Before discussing the relation of the Newtonian system in physics to the system acceptable to-day it is worth while turning aside for a moment to say a few words on the bane of Newton's life : controversy. In most books about Newton the various controversies occupy large space and require much elucidation. It would appear from a glance at the chapter headings that Newton was an uncommonly irascible man, ever fighting some one. There were controversies with Hooke about the 'inverse-square' law and the experimental work on light. There was a long controversy with Flamsteed, the Astronomer Royal, about the motions of the moon, and a dispute with the philosopher Leibniz, lasting for years, as to who discovered that great subject of mathematical physics, the Differential Calculus. They are all decided now. They distressed Newton (and, no doubt, his opponents) at the time. They fill much too large a place in the biographies. The worst business was over the differential calculus. Each was accused by some one of plagiarising from the other. In the result it was solemnly affirmed in London that Newton was the true discoverer and Leibniz the plagiarist ; and when George I left Hanover for this country the great Leibniz had to be left behind because Newton was in London ! With the wide experience of men and of motives which the present age of science has revealed to us we know that great men like Newton and Leibniz do not, in fact, steal one another's results. Simultaneous and quite independent discoveries in science, even of the most far-reaching nature, are by no means rare. We are indeed constantly being surprised at the wide range of the truth of the saying about great minds thinking alike. But now is now and then was then. England and the Continent divided on the matter ; there was bonny fighting in print. We now know that

the work was independent. Newton was first with the actual discovery, Leibniz first in publishing it. Leibniz's form of the calculus was much better than Newton's; the subject could not have developed on Newton's lines as it has done; the form we learn now is Leibniz's. Newton's form, however, was admirably adapted for his work and is still the easier system for the beginner, and is probably logically less faulty than Leibniz's. With transcendent merit on both sides it was a great pity that on this great issue the misunderstanding should have become so bitter and endured so long.

What do people think at the present time of the Law of Gravitation and the Newtonian system of mechanics generally? We know that for more than two hundred years after their inception they served to explain perfectly the motions of everything on the earth and in the heavens. We are now told that Einstein's great generalisations about space and time have displaced Newton's so that his system is of historic importance only. Others like Professor More—though not the writers who contributed to the work cited in 'Nature'—tell us that while there is substance in Einstein's arguments, the theories are much too complicated and altogether too odd to become acceptable by all but a few. Many affirm that the Newtonian system is good enough for them. And whether or not we are pro-Einstein we agree that Newton's work has the merit of having withstood criticism successfully till to-day and the added charm of seeming simple. In science, however, the phrase 'good enough for me' cannot be allowed to pass. Only the best is good enough. In this discussion we must make a distinction between procedure and principles evolved by it. The procedure and practice which Newton invented or approved for investigating nature still remain uncriticised. But there can be little doubt that Einstein and modern workers on the subject have got a truer and more comprehensive grasp of how the universe works mechanically than had Newton and his school. The moderns, for all the comic accounts of relativity which have enlivened us, and for all the highly abstruse mathematics necessary for deriving the final results, view the universe more *simply* than did Newton. There can be little denial of this plain statement.

Modern science began with Galileo and Newton. They

were the first of note to affirm that all scientific work must begin and end with the facts of observation. The old guard all brought to their thinking bias from tradition, or philosophical presuppositions, or ideas from the inner conscience. Thus, bodies fell to earth in such-and-such a way because Aristotle said so; the planets moved in circles because the circle represented perfection, and so forth. Newton took the view that it was quicker, safer, simpler to do experiments than to bother about these other things. From the experimental observations he abstracted certain conceptions which he accepted as postulates, and in terms of these conceptions he described the observations themselves mathematically. In this realm of science Newton's procedure has never been bettered, but it can be realised there is room for more than one opinion as to the conceptions that are best. Accuracy of description, universality of application, and simplicity of the underlying postulates are the criteria of 'best.' From alternatives which presented themselves to him Newton built up an arbitrary system which he thought was best. Mass, velocity, acceleration, force were carefully defined. Gravitation was a particular force apparently universal in operation. To obtain unambiguous description he found he had to postulate an absolute space and an absolute time. With these absolutes and with these conceptions of mass, acceleration, and so on, Newton showed that motion and force, anywhere and at any time, could be accurately accounted for to the very highest degree. For simplicity of description or universality of operation it was hard to conceive how the Newtonian system could be bettered. But if in the real universe absolute space and absolute time were non-existent, if it was a fact that events could not be regarded as separated by intervals of two kinds: lapse of time, and distance in space, what then? Ambiguities would appear and regions of space and time might be found where the Newtonian system predicted the wrong thing. In Newton's day there was no whisper of ambiguity; there was no region where his laws became inoperative. There was accordingly no reason to depart from the view that space and time were entirely separate kinds of things, in themselves absolute. The modern view, however, is that space and time are not separate absolutes; they are aspects of

a union of both called not very happily the 'space-time continuum.' The essence of Einstein's theory has been missed by some because 'relativity' has suggested to them 'shifting' and 'transient' in opposition to 'permanent' and 'exact.' The gist of the theory, however, is concerned not with a relative but with an absolute. Space-time is this absolute. The theory postulates a perfectly definite, unchanging, absolute order of events, existing not in space and time, as Newton thought, but in this composition of them, space-time. Between any two events the interval is absolute, but it can be broken up into different amounts of space and time by different observers, depending upon where they are in the universe and how they are in motion. The interval between two events to one observer might be all space and no time, or all time and no space, or space and time less and more, or space and time more and less. (It is there that relativity comes in.) Absolute space-time is not a more meritorious conception in itself than absolute space and absolute time. Its merit lies in that whenever the deductions from it have appeared to be in conflict with those deduced from Newton's system the latter have been found experimentally in every case to be wrong, and the new laws postulated by Einstein's theory to be right. In nearly every case the Newtonian laws and the Einsteinian laws are equally perfect in describing what occurs; it is in the odd cases that we see which is the better—better, because altogether more comprehensive, more universal. If we leave out the odd cases (cases unknown in Newton's time) our choice of system would depend upon taste or temperament. Many would prefer the Newtonian because it came first, or because its mathematical aspect is simpler, or because intuitively they like to keep time and space separate. But the odd cases, if we believe they are genuine, compel us to put universality and comprehensiveness before intuitions or dislike of advanced mathematics. The theory of relativity may seem to make heavy weather of its work but it is really simpler than Newton's theory. With fewer postulates it covers the whole ground.

Newton's fame has never been so high or so secure as to-day despite all that can be said about his theories in the light of our science. Without his theories of mechanics

and gravitation there could have been no theory of relativity to go one better. We now realise how intensely modern was his outlook. We know that he foresaw difficulties in his own conceptions which would be likely to get worse as knowledge of the universe increased. Right or wrong he had a wonderful mind, a marvellous outlook. Were he alive to-day he would be first in support of the work in physics which is the marvel of this age; Einstein is one person with whom there would be no controversy. It is some compensation for the supersession of his mechanical system by the modern one that in ordinary life we shall still continue to think and talk as he did. 'Attraction,' 'repulsion,' 'force,' 'gravitation' are terms we shall use for many years yet. In strictest science we should disdain them utterly; it is like talking, as we do, about the rising and the setting of the sun when we know perfectly well it is our earth and not the sun that does the work. How pleasantly conservative, even pre-Copernican, we remain in word and phrase despite the radicalness of our ideas!

So much has been said about natural science that an unanswered question to the biologists might appropriately end the discussion: Whence came Newton's genius?

A. S. RUSSELL.



# Art. 11.—THE CLAIMS OF THE DEAF.

WE live in an age remarkable for a great uprising of the spirit of compassion. Its manifestations may be traced back for a hundred years ; the period in which a mighty revolution has been wrought in every department of national life. Before that time it seems that only a small minority of the nation were stirred even to the wish for action when the depth and extent of human misery were disclosed. Very often, it is true, they were not disclosed : but even when they were it was necessary that horrors should be forced upon the attention of the public again and again before the motive power could be secured for the minimum of reform. This, of course, was partly due to the lack of publicity ; but mainly to the sluggishness of the English imagination which enables us to listen for a long time to tales of suffering without really taking them in. To-day there is no want of publicity ; but the imagination which might enable us to realise what words mean is still and perhaps always will be unaccountably languid.

Now there is a form of suffering thrust upon our attention, not by the word-painting of professional journalists, novelists, or poets, but by ordinary social contact with some of the huge group of men and women afflicted with deafness. A large number of homes contain one or more cases of the malady : but only a few of the relations and friends have an adequate idea as to how to treat the sufferers. This, as I shall show, is a lamentable but undeniable fact : and ignorance of it, especially on the part of compassionate people, is the cause of a serious aggravation of the affliction. One often hears the question mooted—say, at five o'clock teas—whether deafness is worse than blindness. Looked at objectively the matter hardly admits of discussion : but tattlers at tea-tables are prone to settle the question subjectively by saying, ‘ Oh, I could not bear to be blind ! ’ : a piece of information quite valueless to the hearers. But with a practical purpose in view the following facts are worth attending to.

Let us first observe that whereas blindness excites more general compassion, deafness is the more crippling infirmity. That is because in the first place it is much

the more difficult to mitigate or relieve : and, secondly, because as compared with blindness it is less compatible with peace of mind. If this diagnosis be correct, we have here a veritable challenge to the compassionate. For there is evidence that deafness is the more distressing of the two afflictions. Look at the expression of the countenance. Blind people are generally serene, in proportion as the disability is complete. The myopic are still straining more or less to retain the remains of a decaying faculty ; but the born blind seem to possess the wondrous compensating gift of resignation : and with that a certain dignity which generally we look for in vain among the deaf. It is true that one, now and then, hears of the affliction being borne with tranquil and even joyous submission : but evidently this is a rare triumph of the religious spirit over circumstance. One reason for the difference is that a deaf man in the company of his fellows is perpetually being reminded of his infirmity. In ever fresh accents he catches the verdict repeated : ' You are not as we are : the very effort we make to include you in the social circle is further evidence that you are under the ban of isolation. Our mirth is not yours : the best joke is often spoilt by repetition ; and if it is not repeated you only know that we are laughing while you are saddened.' Let it be said at once that this is not a universal experience ; but it is far commoner than should be. What precautions against it have been found successful we will consider later.

Other hardships which befall the deaf are due to the difficulty they find in social gatherings which to others may not improbably bring refreshment and sometimes enjoyment. Especially and most disappointingly is this the case when they are brought to associate with each other. One would have thought that mutual sympathy and fellow-feeling would spring up naturally among those who are similarly afflicted. Sometimes it is so ; but often—so it is reported—such intercourse is marred by the sinister fact of irritability. We are most of us irritated by some people more than by others ; but it seems that even kindly people often find peculiar difficulty in wholly subduing this infirmity and in always finding pleasure in talking with a deaf person. They strive not to give pain but very often they do so. Again we hear of the

*comble de malheurs* in the shape of head-noises, vertigo, and other disorders. These troubles, however, are not strictly part of our subject. They frequently accompany deafness, but are more of the nature of disease added to normal symptoms of gradual decline. None the less, they are frequent enough to stir sinister expectations in the minds of the normally deaf by suggesting in middle life what old age may not improbably have in store.

Lastly, there is a paradoxical feature of deafness that though it is to other people often rather irritating it can also be the reverse of irritating and supremely comical. Laughter, it has been said, is given to prevent us all from going mad. But there is in Nature this much of injustice that when the hard of hearing say and do absurd things we who see and hear may be amused, but not the sufferers themselves. The comicality is hidden from them; even as it was in a notable instance which occurred in high life some thirty years ago. A nobleman was introduced to a lady of an even higher social station than himself, and both were very deaf. Early in their conversation she told him a lengthy and perhaps a really amusing story of which he caught hardly a word: but as she evidently relished her own fun he was too polite not to laugh heartily with her: only stopping to begin himself to make a return by telling her the same story that she had told him with a similar abortive result. Onlookers enjoyed the rare treat of catching two intelligent and honest people innocently acting a lie, out of pure goodwill. Even funnier, perhaps, was the self-revelation of a thick-witted gentleman who, invited one evening by a friend to meet an entertaining stranger, was sitting smoking after dinner with his two companions, and all were in an expansive mood suitable to the occasion. The stranger who had once been an interesting talker had fallen rather rapidly into 'anecdote.' He opened fire with a torrent of schoolboy blunders, some laughable, but all spoilt by congestion, lasting a full twenty minutes. The host was only able to endure the boredom of it because he noted his other guest failed to see the point of a single story. His patience was rewarded. Thick-wit who had sat throughout with an immovable visage suddenly slapped his thigh in genuine merriment: 'That reminds me of a rare good story,' and he repeated the last of the long series almost word for word.

In general, however, it might be said that blindness is neither comic nor irritating: deafness sometimes is both; but it is never the sufferer who is amused. In short, the special characteristics of deafness which accentuate the affliction are peculiar to itself. The blind, though greatly to be pitied, are easier to help.

We proceed now to think how the special aggravation of deafness can be prevented by sympathetic treatment individually in social converse. And, in the first place, how to talk to the deaf. The following suggestions based on common sense are sound and easy to practise if only there is the true desire to help. Let it be recognised that the aim should be to spare the sufferer all unnecessary reminders of his affliction. We are thinking now not of the slightly deaf, nor of the practically stone-deaf, but of the majority who are barred from general conversation and require great distinctness on the part of their interlocutor if conversation, even *tête-à-tête*, is to be comfortably carried on. But distinctness does not mean shouting, though most people think that it does. Moreover, any unnecessary shouting or obvious effort on the part of the speaker offends against our canon by reminding the sufferer of his malady. But if we start with the caution 'Don't shout,' it is plain that the conventional mutter must be avoided. How much the voice should be raised can be determined by observation. In average cases a very slight increase of tone is necessary, and nothing that could be called a shout.

Secondly, remember that for your listener the strain is not physical, being merely on the auditory nerves, but on the brain. Any of us who have painfully learnt to talk a foreign language by dint of residence in a pension abroad know that to listen to a foreigner requires not only good ears but an alert brain. You have rapidly to infer the meaning of an unknown word by its context. But some words cannot be guessed from their context and yet may be essential to the meaning. Hence four golden rules: (1) Pronounce every name, newly introduced, with especial care: and (2) change to a new subject slowly. You may be able to go a little faster after a while, but at the beginning mark carefully whether your exordium has been grasped or not. If not, and at any time when you see you are not heard, repeat—perhaps in different

words. A change of words is often necessary in speaking your own language to a foreigner. I found on the Continent that French people were better than Germans, *i.e.* Prussians, in this art. The latter had a way of bawling out the same words the second time, implying that I was deaf as well as stupid.

(3) Do not attempt in such cases to make your words audible from more than a yard, or at most two yards distant. If you do so you will be bound to shout and, even if successful, the manner of the remark cannot give pleasure. (4) Address the listener directly, and don't turn away in the middle of your story in the hope of catching the attention of some one else in the party. It is cruelty to excite successfully the interest of a sufferer, say, at the beginning of a good story and then deprive him of its point, which, if repeated by request, is generally spoilt. This is a common failing, but commoner still, both in conversation and in public speaking, is the habit of dropping the voice at the end of a sentence. This really is due to laziness, for it requires, of course, some effort to keep the voice up when the air in the lungs is exhausted. Some speakers do this when they wish to be impressive. In a drawing-room it may be right enough. But it is impossible to be impressive if one is not heard. At this point I cannot forbear from passing on to my readers a recommendation made fifty years ago by a lady to a guest who was groaning at the nuisance he had suffered of being buttonholed by a bore in a railway-carriage. The situation is familiar to most of us, and if there happen to be no corridor, requires dexterous treatment. The prescription was as follows: 'Tell him a story, and drop your voice at the point; or better, smother it with sham laughter. He will then request its repetition and this time give it him more muffled than ever. He will not say another word.'

It is difficult to exaggerate the amount of unconsidered pain inflicted on deaf people by their nearest friends through inarticulate utterance. Is there any country in the world where so many speak indistinctly, or monotonously, or stridently, or all three at once, as in England? The subject of voice-production is too intricate for treatment here; but it should be said that in ordinary conversation, no less than on platforms, an immense

amount of effort is thrown away simply because the wrong use of the vocal organs prevents the mind of the speaker from being fairly expressed. Moreover, the teaching should begin in childhood before the self-conscious age and the crack in the voice have set in. If this were done much pain now caused not only to the deaf would be saved; for a well-produced voice means less effort to the speaker and greater pleasure to the hearer. So far we have been thinking negatively, noting certain follies and lazinesses to be avoided. Based on them certain positive suggestions may briefly be summarised. In speaking to a deaf person: (1) Always talk slowly; especially when introducing a new subject, name or number or an out-of-the-way word. (2) Remember always the strain on the brain. (3) Throughout the conversation keep your eyes towards your interlocutor; especially as you near the point of a story, or the close of a description, or the climax of an incident. (4) Always pronounce consonants firmly. (5) Watch the expression of the face and note when your words are not caught. (6) Except in extreme cases there will be no need to raise the voice more than slightly. Inarticulate bawling not only gives pain to the deaf, but forces others in the room also to shout till all rational conversation is prevented and general exasperation may prevail.

With this last remark we pass to the kindred topic of the right and reasonable behaviour of sufferers when they are being addressed. Closely connected with that question is the choice of aids to hearing: instruments and especially lip-reading. That is to say, the speaker to the deaf is helped if the sufferer makes no concealment of any kind; no dissembling or acting. Indeed, most of the difficulties of the situation are removed if there is no pretence whatever. But in some cases, especially in the early stages of ordinary senile deafness, there is often a great reluctance to use an instrument because it betrays what the sufferer would prefer to keep hidden. In both parties character is revealed in this respect. The speaker may not have conquered his inclination to be irritated when he finds himself obliged to take trouble to move his stiff lips and repeat and mar his 'splendid original joke.' It is a similar fear which makes the incipiently deaf reluctant to betray the fact of their deafness. Nevertheless, it is always a



mistake to dissemble. They are influenced not by consideration for the other party, but by a very natural vanity. They want to show that they are not as others are, and in this effort they are bound to fail. For failure in such an endeavour dogs the steps of success. The only man who is taken in by it must be one who is gratified if he has a human being before him to whom he can talk. Whether his words are understood and arouse interest or the reverse is a question with which he has no concern whatever. But that is the description of a bore. A, a deaf person, has, without hearing a word, stirred B, the bore, to monologue for eight minutes on end. B goes away saying A is the most agreeable man he has met for years: ignoring the fact that A has not made one relevant comment on anything that B has said. A conversation between two people when one cannot listen and the other won't listen, can hardly be called a success.

But, be it noticed, the fault is generally on the side, not of the deaf person but of his interlocutor. What makes the former dissemble is not only vanity but the fear of irritating the speaker. Many people are liable to this irritation and cannot help showing it as soon as they hear the word 'What?' That should never be. To avoid it I suggest to any deaf person that the best course if a sentence has not been caught is not to snap out 'What?' but to show that he is trying to hear, and if it is—as often—only the name that was not caught, not to say 'What?' but 'Who?' and only a bad-mannered man will show or feel any irritation then.

A word more is necessary in respect to lip-reading. It is really hard to explain why the simplest requirement of the case is generally ignored. Lip-reading means catching words by sight of the lips of the speaker, and not only through the hearing. For what conceivable reason, then, do many speakers first excite interest by talking face-to-face and then after a minute or two turn the back and go on uttering sounds to the viewless winds or the corner of the room, wasting breath for the want of which they will die some day? Or—as happens even more often—Mr. Thickskin, who thinks no little of his conversational powers, has invited himself to tea with a lip-reader, knowing that if things go well he can cheer him up for a time. He sets to work, grows absorbed in his



own views of life, and makes quite interesting remarks—with his hand concealing his mouth! That is partly stupidity, but mainly is due to want of sympathy and blindness of heart.

The following directions have been given me by a lip-reader of the common sort, i.e. not stone-deaf, but hearing with difficulty, and greatly helped by lip-reading which she learnt from a professional teacher. It should be premised that English people are more stiff-lipped than the French (who, it is said, give their leading actors four years of training before testifying that they can speak their own language), and the best lip-reader is liable to be baffled by immovable lips or by a heavy drooping moustache. But the commonest difficulty is due to the laziness of speakers who will not take the trouble even to learn what they might do. The speaker also should notice *what* he is asked to repeat and not go again over the whole sentence when asked 'Who said that?' or the like. Other points for talking to lip-readers:

(a) Keep your head still, do not turn it away, or jerk it in your desire to be emphatic.

(b) At meals do not talk while listener is helping himself to food from a dish.

(c) Above all, do not *mouth* in talking. Speak naturally and much as you would do if addressing a small audience—that is, rather more slowly and distinctly than a normal conversation requires.

(d) Put your sentences clearly and don't use out-of-the-way words and phrases, especially if you are talking to any one wholly dependent on lip-reading.

In general, the situation is simple and some few people—rather more women than men—follow the precepts here given quite readily. It depends to a large degree on kindness of heart.

Then as to what is being done to help the deaf generally, the following statement of the problem, its complexity and extent, and of the immediate aims of the voluntary agencies at work is based on the official reports of the two principal Associations, supplementing Dr Eicholtz's report drawn up for the Minister of Health and the President of the Board of Education in 1932. The Associations are: (1) the National Institute for the

Deaf, and (2) the National Benevolent Society for the Deaf, including the Deafened Ex-Service Men's Fund. Added to these are between 70 and 80 'Missions,' i.e. local voluntary Associations, and six County Associations—the Northern, Midland, Eastern, and Western counties, besides the Scottish and Metropolitan. The N.I.D., founded in 1911 by the late Mr Leo Bonn (at the instance of many teachers of the deaf, missionaries and other members of local authorities interested) and nearly killed by the War, was reconstituted in 1924 with Lord Charnwood as President. The N.B.S.D. was founded in 1917, the Chairman being Mr Nigel L. Campbell. Among the Vice-Presidents are the Earl Jellicoe, the Earl Beatty, the Viscount Allenby. Broadly speaking, the purpose of the two chief Associations embraces very miscellaneous activities which are illustrated below but are hard to classify, and undertakes also the whole work of arousing increased attention to the needs of the deaf on the part of the community and the Government. It should be noted that the most important work for the deaf, apart from schools, depends upon local initiative and sustained local endeavour, so that the proper part of the N.I.D. and the N.B.S.D. is in many respects supplementary and ancillary to that of other agencies. This especially applies to the founding and direction of Missions.

It is important also to note the wide difference between the two classes of sufferers concerned : 'Deaf and Dumb,' i.e. with hearing faint from birth or a very early age, of which there are probably some 38,000 in Great Britain : the 'Deafened'—afflicted by serious and sometimes total loss of hearing in later life ; and these are far more numerous than the 'Deaf and Dumb.' The work needed for the two classes differs very much, and people interested in the one are apt not to understand the other. The fairly complete and, in many respects, able survey of the whole subject made for the Government by the late Dr Eicholtz, was the first official examination of the subject since 1886. It resulted after several years of pressure by the N.I.D., vigorously supported in the House of Lords by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Davidson. One of the chief concerns of the N.I.D. at this moment is to try to get Dr Eicholtz's recommenda-

tions acted upon by Government Departments, so far as well-informed opinion, which we are bringing to bear on these, shows them to be sound.

Some important reforms which the N.I.D. is asking for are as follows :

*School Age.*—Compulsory education for deaf and dumb begins two years later than for normal children. It is manifestly needed earlier.

*Industrial Training.*—After school age (in their case ending at sixteen) most deaf and dumb children require special industrial training for a short period, which at present is very rarely given.

A *permanent advisory committee* of the Government Departments concerned, such as exists in the case of the blind.

The *re-training of persons deafened* and thereby disqualified for their old occupation, while quite capable of practising another.

*Employment of the Deaf and Dumb and Deafened.*—Both are as capable in many employments as are normal people. Both are subject to great difficulty in finding another job when out of work. The Labour Ministry and their staff, with all good will, confess that this special difficulty is beyond their power to deal with adequately. Local organisations in groups of counties have been formed, with the encouragement of the Ministry of Health, for the purpose (not exclusively but among other purposes) of dealing with this difficulty. The development of this work and the ways in which the Government can best help it is a subject to which the attention of the N.I.D. in correspondence with the Counties Associations and with the Ministry is earnestly directed.\*

*Teaching of Lip-reading to the Deafened*, and connected with this are : *Social Centres for the Deafened*, *Aids to Hearing for the Deafened*, viz. *earphones*, *specialists'*

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\* The Ministry of Health was advised by Dr. Eicholtz to rely on the Missions as chief agents in this, but

(a) The Missions do not cover the country :

(b) Their areas and those of the local authorities interested in the matter overlap hopelessly ;

(c) Missions must concentrate on the deaf and dumb, and in this matter the deafened, who are largely outside their ken, equally demand help.

*examinations, etc.*—Considerable progress has been made in the improvement of these.

A large part of the work of both societies—and increasingly so as the efforts made become better known—consists in answering inquiries from individuals on a great variety of matters. These include the prevention of deafness, opportunities for treatment, early signs of deafness in children and adults, pre-school training of children, the choice of schools, private tuition, the study of lip-reading, the development and preservation of speech, private teachers and classes for lip-reading, clubs, suitability of aids to hearing, prevention of exploitation, employment, suitable vocations for the deafened, industrial training of adolescents, the industrial re-education of the deafened, the blind-deaf, the mentally and physically-defective deaf, industrial legislation, insurance, homes and institutions for the deaf, interpretation, etc. This inconspicuous work is very useful, as also, we hope, are publications from time to time issued, which need not be further mentioned here.

*Fraudulent Hearing Aids and Treatment.*—A very cruel fraud is often practised on persons deafened or hard of hearing, by inducing them, through advertisements and otherwise, to buy, at prices which would in any case be exorbitant, aids which are often of no use in their particular cases and may even be injurious. Quack practitioners are also common. The N.I.D., which has for years been at war with this astonishingly rampant evil, now is able effectively to diminish its extent, because it can furnish a list of firms trading in hearing aids who comply with such conditions that the deafened can safely deal with them. It may hope to do yet more in this matter. The Associations are also able to prevent or at least greatly reduce hardships suffered. There used to be cases of deaf and dumb people in Poor Law institutions who were never visited by any one who could converse with them; of children treated mistakenly as mentally defective when they were really intelligent, but deaf or very hard of hearing; of Trade Board rules bearing with unintended hardship on the deaf; of deaf defendants or witnesses in police courts who had no adequate interpreter.

Also circulation of information is often useful in regard

to the prevention of deafness ; but the most important of all such efforts is the action and competent administration of the Health services of local authorities. As to this the local authorities have been so active of late as to leave no ground of complaint ; but there is no doubt that in many cases want of skill in detecting incipient deafness in school children has been a fault, and the whole matter is a subject for vigilant attention.

The medical study of deafness, and the diffusion of the results of research are purposes which the N.I.D. Associations to a considerable extent are able to promote ; while it has often occurred that benefactors, desirous of endowing institutions for the deaf, or the trustees of existing endowments, have chosen to put such endowments under the control of the N.I.D., which now controls, through committees appointed by it, Homes for Aged Deaf Women in Lancashire and Bath, and a Hostel for Young Deaf Men coming to London, founded recently. There is a considerable lack of means of higher education for the deaf and dumb young people who are qualified to benefit from it. A scheme for a school for this purpose has been prepared and gifts are invited, but presumably we may have to wait some time before endowments are forthcoming. Further developments of provision from Government for the care of the deaf must certainly be contemplated in the future, but they need not be referred to here, since they would require rather lengthy discussion.

The preceding account of the National Institute, though much compressed, gives a fair summary of the work and aims of the voluntary Associations as they were early in 1933. But the reader is warned that no adequate idea of the great importance of the work in hand, its intricate and diversified problems, and its abundant hopefulness can be gained without perusal of the 10th Annual Report of the N.I.D., and the 15th Annual Report of the N.B.S.D. As compared with what has been published hitherto, the reports treat the whole subject as a dramatic development. It is no longer a quiet and unnoticed helpfulness of obscure and nameless sufferers, but a manful struggle for the prevention and remedying of a terrible affliction which not only stunts and degrades thousands of human lives, but deprives the community of a great deal of brain-power

and willing service. The mental faculties of the deaf are as vigorous as those of their more fortunate fellows ; but only in a very small minority of cases are they allowed full scope.

Some of the records given are harrowing to read : but the N.I.D. Report is mainly concerned with the greatness of the opportunity and the deficiencies in the provision of the equipment necessary if the rapidly-increasing demands are to be met. This remark applies specially to the records of the N.I.D. The Report of the N.B.S.D. gives details of help given to individual cases which to the ordinary reader are perhaps still more appealing. The file of one man shockingly wounded in 1916 amounts to some 250 letters. We can all do something to remedy these deficiencies. Our legislators have to be convinced of two imperative needs : The lowering of the age of compulsory education from seven to five, and the appointment of a permanent advisory committee. Both of these provisions are already made for the blind, and the community have to learn that it is manifest injustice not to extend the same sympathy to their deaf fellow sufferers. The same applies also to two crying grievances ; that deaf motorists are still believed by magistrates to be less capable of driving than ordinary people, when all the evidence points to the contrary, and especially relevant to this question is the recent restriction of the use of the horn. The other grievance is that in official examinations the elementary right of interpretation accorded by law to all foreigners not conversant with our language is still often withheld from the deaf and dumb. If only the facts given on p. 22 of the Report could be widely made known these and other discreditable abuses would be at once swept away.

Certain financial demands not large but very urgent are also explained ; and other topics of interest are dealt with which we have not space here even to name.

EDWARD LYTTTELTON.

## Art. 12.—NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

AMONG Liberals and Conservatives, especially among those who belong to the older generation and who were brought up in the tradition of Gladstonian finance, a body of opinion still lingers which considers that all expenditure by the State is, at best, a necessary evil. To this school of thought, of which perhaps Sir Ernest Benn and Mr F. W. Hirst are the most faithful and convincing exponents, economy simply means a reduction of Government expenditure to a minimum, the lowering of taxation and the avoidance of all unnecessary interference by the State in the social and industrial life of the community. At the other end of the scale are the sentimental Socialists, who proclaim, with Mr Greenwood, that the nation can afford anything it wants and that any expenditure which helps to improve the condition of the people is in the true sense of the word 'economical.' But even among Socialists this view of 'economy' is becoming somewhat discredited. The more thoughtful members of the Labour Party are awakening to the knowledge that in every society there must be some proper means of apportioning the national income between saving and spending, between consumption and investment, and they freely admit that in a Communist society the State would be responsible not only for spending but also for saving.

None the less the Labour Party is compelled for political motives to behave as though its leaders really believed that the resources of a 'Capitalist' society were unending, and to direct the most bitter attacks against any Government which emphasises the necessity for retrenchment. Professor Laski, for instance, has repeatedly asserted that in a Capitalist society expenditure on social services, etc., is undertaken only in times of prosperity when the 'possessing classes' can without any material sacrifice to themselves, afford to bribe the working classes into acquiescence by providing them with better conditions of life; but in times of stringency, he maintains, an economy campaign will be immediately inaugurated because the 'possessing classes' will not allow the social services to be maintained if this implies a reduction in their own profits. This contention is, in



fact, quite unfounded. To-day the vast majority of the people of this country, whatever may be their political opinions or social status, hold the view that the object of the Government should be to provide the greatest possible measure of well-being for the community as a whole. It is generally assumed that the less highly-paid members of society are not in a position to guard against the contingencies of ill-health, old age, and unemployment out of their own resources, and that some measure of assistance, therefore, should be provided by the State. The most die-hard Liberal would not suggest that the provision of education or of the public health services should be left to individual enterprise, and Mr Baldwin is never tired of reminding his followers that 'the improvement of the condition of the people is a fundamental branch of Tory doctrine.' But at the present time many of the younger generation of politicians who follow his lead would go farther than this in the direction of State control. They demand not only that the Government should utilise the resources of the community to provide an improved system of social services and a higher standard of public health, but also that the State should by an active policy of 'reconstruction' take measures to restore industrial prosperity. Mr Lindsay, the young Conservative Member for South Bristol, when moving the address to His Majesty at the beginning of the present session of Parliament, said that, in so far as he could interpret their views, there was among the younger members of all parties a firm determination to proceed with the work of reconstruction and 'a growing realisation of the need for a greater measure of forethought and of conscious control of economic forces.' Such a policy implies a departure from the principles of Individualism, and views without dismay the active interference of the State in the reorganisation of industry in order to do away with redundant effort and uneconomic competition, to overcome the unhappy consequences of over-production and to encourage a wiser distribution of labour and capital as between different forms of production.

It is obvious that at a time when the parties of the right and of the left differ only as to the extent to which the State should take upon itself the regulation, the control, even the management, of industry, a return to the

strict rules of Gladstonian finance is impossible even if it were desirable. Public expenditure cannot be drastically curtailed so long as public opinion insists upon the State assuming such a prominent rôle in the concerns of the individual. It does not, however, follow that—because our national finances are no longer conducted in accordance with nineteenth-century principles—we can, therefore, afford an unlimited expenditure. Even if we are willing to accept the view that the Budgets of the future will be on a much larger scale than the Budgets of the past, it still remains true that Government expenditure, however laudable may be its object, must be limited in proportion to the total resources of the community, and that excessive spending will defeat its own object by reducing those resources and so bringing about a decline, instead of an increase, in the general standard of living. It is also true that under a system of democratic parliamentary government it is extremely difficult to enforce retrenchment since the numerical majority of the electorate are the direct beneficiaries of Government expenditure. As long ago as 1860 the late Lord Salisbury pointed out in an article in this Review, entitled 'The Budget and the Reform Bill,' that a system of direct taxation combined with a democratic franchise must lead to a constant increase in the national expenditure, as 'the rich would pay all the taxes and the poor would make all the laws.' Time has proved, to a large extent, the accuracy of this forecast, and the general trend of our social legislation, more especially within recent years, has led many people to adopt the view that it is at all times and in all circumstances a virtue to preach retrenchment because the natural tendency to overspend can only be counteracted by constant emphasis on the need for economy. There is, indeed, a real danger that the financial policy of the country may be determined not by economic considerations, but by the relative strength and weakness of the particular interests demanding, on the one hand, retrenchment, on the other hand, expenditure. Governments can resist political pressure of this kind only if they base their policy upon a careful and scientific investigation of the national resources.

It is necessary, before attempting either to justify or to condemn the financial methods of post-war Govern-

ments, to examine in some detail the extent of the increase in our national expenditure.

In 1913-14 the total expenditure chargeable against revenue, including debt interest and management, amounted to 197½ millions; in 1921 it had risen to 1079½ millions. There was then a steady reduction to 795½ millions in 1924. There was no marked change until 1931-32, when there was an abrupt rise to 851½ millions.\* This was followed by an equally striking decrease—the last Budget (1933-34) showed that expenditure, including the service of the National Debt, had been reduced to 693½ millions.

In local expenditure there has been a more or less equivalent increase over pre-war standards. In 1913 the total expenditure of Local Authorities, other than loans, amounted to 148½ millions. In 1920 it was 343½ millions, in 1930 423½ millions.†

Now these figures of total expenditure, remarkable though they are, do not in themselves tell us very much. The increase in money expenditure is partly due to a fall in the value of money; it is very largely due to the natural increase in the productive power and total resources of the community. It is true that the Government and the Local Authorities together spent a great deal more in 1930 than they did in 1913, but it is equally true that the total public expenditure in 1913 was much greater than it was in 1813. It is obvious that this increase in the national expenditure would not have been possible unless there had been an increase in the total wealth of the nation, and it is undoubtedly true that, in spite of the dislocation caused by the War, the aggregate wealth of the community has grown very considerably since 1913. To the extent, then, that a larger Government expenditure reflects an increase in national wealth, our high expenditure to-day is a matter for satisfaction and not for regret.

There does not exist at the present time any accurate method of assessing the total resources of the community, but the estimates of the national income that have

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\* See 'Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, 1933,' Cmd. 4233, p. 134.

† See 'Statistical Abstract, 1933,' p. 192. These figures include payments to trading services and loan charges; they do not include new loan expenditure.

recently been compiled by economists will serve at least as a basis of comparison. According to the calculations of Professor Bowley and Mr Colin Clark, the national income in 1911 amounted to approximately 1988 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions; in 1924 it had increased to 3586 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions; in 1927, to nearly 4000 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions; in 1932 it had decreased to 3620 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and in 1934 it had risen again to 3850 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions.\* It is clear, therefore, that although there has been this very considerable increase in national wealth, there has been a corresponding and even greater increase in the expenditure of the Government and Local Authorities. On a rough estimate the total expenditure of the central and Local Authorities to-day amounts to about 1200 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions, which is equal to about one-third of the total national income. This means that 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  out of every 3 $\frac{1}{3}$  produced is spent, or, as some people prefer to put it, 'managed,' by the central and Local Authorities.†

It need not necessarily be assumed that this is an unsatisfactory state of affairs, since it is clear that under a collectivist system of society the proportion of the national wealth which is administered by public authorities will be far greater than under an individualist system. On the other hand, the fact that the years of increasing expenditure since the War have also been years of heavy unemployment does give cause for grave disquietude,‡ and does suggest that the increase in the proportion of

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\* This latter figure is only provisional. The estimate for 1911 is compiled by Professor Bowley, those for 1924-1934 by Mr Colin Clark. All the figures in question can only be taken as estimates and those of Professor Bowley are only roughly comparable with those of Mr Clark. 'These estimates exclude all "transfer" incomes such as interest on the National Debt, old age pensions and the like; include at cost price the services performed by the State and Local Authorities; include all paid domestic work; and do not credit or debit the total with charges in the valuation of securities, fixed capital or stocks.' See Bowley and Stamp, 'The National Income (1924).' Colin Clark, 'The National Income in 1932,' 'The Economic Journal,' June 1933. Colin Clark, 'Further Data on the National Income,' 'Economic Journal,' September 1934.

† See Finer, 'English Local Government,' p. 374.

‡ During the post-War period the numbers of the registered unemployed have fluctuated between 1,000,000 and 3,000,000. The percentage of unemployment among the insured population has varied from 8·6 per cent. to 23 per cent.; in June 1934 it was 16·1 per cent. (These figures do not include uninsured workers who are unemployed.) See Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Report, 1922, Cmd. 4185, pp. 70 and 71.

State expenditure to national income may be either a cause or a result of industrial depression. Before any conclusion can be reached on this question, it is necessary to examine how this vast sum of money is spent: to what extent is the expenditure strictly necessary; to what extent does it increase the productive power, and, therefore, the total wealth of the community; to what extent does it represent a definite social advantage reflected in the improved health and moral of the people; to what extent does it represent sheer waste? Some analysis of this kind must be undertaken before any attempt can be made to decide the major issue as to how far the advantages gained by spending public money are offset by the disadvantages resulting from the burden of rates and taxes.

An examination of the different heads of expenditure shows that the most marked increase has been on account of social services. It has been calculated that in 1911 3 per cent. of the national income was spent on social services; in 1924 the proportion had risen to  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; in 1932, to  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.\* This, of course, explains why since the War there has been a much more steady and constant increase in the expenditure of Local Authorities than in the expenditure of the central Government. Local expenditure has continued to rise even during periods in which Budget expenditure has been reduced. This disparity would be greater than it is, were it not that an increasing proportion of local expenditure is financed out of Government grants. The expenditure of the central Government reached its maximum post-War level in 1921, and this was followed by a marked decline until 1924; since then there have been occasional years of heavy expenditure, but there appears to be a general tendency to work back to an amount not greatly exceeding the 1924 level. In local expenditure, however, there was only a small decrease in 1924, the year of economy, and since then expenditure has risen steadily not only above the 1924 level, but also above that of 1921. The total expenditure of the Local Authorities, other than out of loans for capital works, was 365l. millions in 1921; in 1924 it fell to 354l. millions, after that date it rose steadily to

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\* See Colin Clark, 'The National Income.'

402*l.* millions in 1926, and 423*l.* millions in 1929. These figures represent the increase in the regular services, Education, Public Health, etc. In loan expenditure for capital works there have been much greater fluctuations; the health services are regular, increasing charges, expenditure on capital investments tends to vary in accordance with changes in the policy of the Government or the political complexion of the Local Authorities. In 1921 the total expenditure out of loans for capital works amounted to 218*l.* millions; in 1923 it fell to 50*l.* millions; in 1928 it rose again to 90*l.* millions, and in 1929 to 108*l.* millions. The disparity between the trend of national and local expenditure is therefore more marked if the loan expenditure is not taken into consideration.\*

This expenditure represents a positive gain to the community only in so far as it has provided pensions, health services, and education. In periods of trade depression increased expenditure on unemployment and poor relief is inevitable, but this increase in expenditure, far from indicating an improvement in the standard of living, is a sign of its decline. In 1929, a year of comparative prosperity, unemployment insurance cost 12*l.* millions and poor relief 41*l.* millions. In 1932 unemployment insurance cost 49*l.* millions and poor relief 38*l.* millions.† The total increase of 34*l.* millions for the two services is, of course, an indication not of prosperity, but of poverty. It is also a self-evident fact that, although over a long period of years an increase in State expenditure may bear some relation to the increase in national income, over a short period a decline in the national income is not reflected by a corresponding decline in expenditure. In 1929 the national income was nearly 4000*l.* millions. In 1932 it was 3380*l.* millions, and yet in 1932 the total expenditure of the central Government and Local Authorities had increased by considerably over that of 1929. This is, in fact, an understatement of the case because, during the period in question, there was a very noticeable

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\* See 'Statistical Abstract,' Cmd. 4233, pp. 192-194. These figures include expenditure on Trading Services.

† 'Table of Public Social Services from Bank of England Statistical Summary,' December 1933. These figures include expenditure from all sources, e.g. they include advances from the Treasury to the Unemployment Fund.



rise in the value of money, reflected in a corresponding fall in the cost of goods and services.

It is not necessary to recapitulate here the events which led to the financial crisis in 1931 and the subsequent changes in financial policy. The most important lesson that can be learnt from those events is that State expenditure is for the most part inelastic; it does not adapt itself naturally to changes in the national income, and a reduction of expenditure can be accomplished only with great difficulty and as the result of concentrated political propaganda—it is only on rare occasions that such propaganda is likely to be successful. Moreover, in the majority of cases an increase of State expenditure involves not only present, but also future liabilities—this is particularly true of pensions and of services financed through loans or through subsidies based on loans.\* For this reason it is essential that even in years of prosperity the State should not undertake new obligations which involve future liabilities unless there is very good reason to believe that the causes of prosperity are of a permanent and not a transitory kind. There is, of course, no absolute means of determining the future trend of production and trade, but it should be possible to avoid increased expenditure which has a cumulative effect when there has been no steady or sustained increase in revenue. This point was strongly emphasised by the Committee on National Expenditure:—

‘One Government, one Parliament, can embark on schemes which for all practical purposes definitely commit future Governments, future Parliaments as far ahead as one can look. With some schemes not only are the main lines permanent, but so strong are the contractual or moral obligations involved that any modification in the direction of economy is a difficult matter. . . . So heavily loaded are the dice in favour of expenditure that no representation we can make is more important than to emphasise the need for caution in undertaking any commitments of a continuing character.’†

\* In the case of pensions, other than War pensions, there is almost invariably an accruing liability. The Committee on National Expenditure were of the opinion that in respect of pensions to civil servants, police, and teachers, and of old age and widows' pensions, we are enjoying benefits for which we are not providing the cost to the extent of 20,000,000*l.* a year. See Report, 1931, Cmd. 3920, p. 11.

† ‘Committee on National Expenditure,’ Report, Cmd. 3920, 1931, p. 12.



Very few politicians and hardly any reputable economist would deny that, in view of the declining revenue and the adverse balance of trade, a reduction in expenditure was necessary in 1931.\* Since then there has been a marked improvement in the economic position of the country, a budgetary deficit has been replaced by a surplus, the revenue has shown considerable buoyancy, an adverse foreign balance has been converted into a favourable balance, there has been a small but definite increase in productive activity and in employment. In view of these facts it is right and proper to reconsider the position. It may be argued, on the one hand, that the policy of reducing public expenditure has been the cause of the improvement and that it should, therefore, be continued; on the other hand, it is impossible wholly to ignore the point of view which asserts that a policy that was essential in 1931 would be inadvisable in the changed conditions of 1935. The Government must decide whether an industrial revival can be more effectively encouraged by a relief of taxation or by an increase of the purchasing power of those sections of the community which profit from the social services; it must decide whether it would be possible to give a direct stimulus to production by investing in public works or by granting subsidies to industry; it must decide to what extent measures adopted for the relief of the unemployed and the improvement of social conditions defeat their own ends, in that they involve an increasing burden upon industry and so tend to perpetuate the existence of unemployment.

In trying to solve these problems the statesman naturally turns for guidance to the economic expert, but when he does so, he is faced with new difficulties; different experts hold widely divergent views as to the causes of trade depression and the remedies that should be adopted; moreover, the form in which they present their proposals is usually so intricate and technical that it is almost impossible for the layman to arrive at any positive conclusion as to the merits of their conflicting theories. Economists as a whole are becoming more and

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\* The only possible alternative would have been a crude process of inflation by printing-press methods. The consequences would have been incalculable, but the immediate effect would have been a disastrous reduction in the standard of living.

more immersed in problems of higher theory ; they claim that their subject is becoming a strict science,\* and they are only too eager to take refuge in a paradise of curves and definitions whence they emerge at intervals to survey public opinion on economic matters and, having found it wanting, retire again with a pious wish that the truth may at length prevail.† There is an increasing tendency to insist that it is not the economists' business to say what ought to be done ; his function, it is said, is to analyse and, with respect to public policy, to expose fallacies and incompatibilities. This attitude is strongly expressed by Professor Robbins in his essay 'The Nation and Significance of Economic Science,' and is summed up in a sentence in Professor Pigou's preface to his recent book on unemployment ; he writes : 'While it is natural and right in the present deplorable state of the world's affairs that many economists should seek to play a part in guiding conduct, that is not their primary business. They are physiologists, not clinical practitioners ; engineers, not engine-drivers.' ‡

None the less, in spite of the abstruse nature of the subject it is possible to discern certain main trends of opinion which appear and reappear in the writings of economists and in the reports of Royal Commissions.

Professor Robbins, in his latest book on the 'Great Depression,' has re-stated the strictly orthodox view that the only solution to our difficulties lies in international measures such as the stabilisation of the exchanges, the re-establishment of the gold standard and the lowering of tariff barriers. Trade depression, in his opinion, is primarily due to the artificial rigidity of the economic system ; the Government should therefore confine its energies to the negative policy of removing restrictions and relieving the burdens of industry. Every effort should be made to reduce costs and the Government should avoid all measures calculated to increase fixed charges, such as interest on loans and payments for social services ; so far as it is possible to do so, the Government should

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\* 'The Nation and Significance of Economic Science,' by Professor L. Robbins.

† 'The Trend of Economic Thinking,' by Professor Hayek, 'Economica,' May 1933.

‡ 'The Theory of Unemployment,' by Professor Pigou, p. 5.

encourage greater elasticity in wages! \* This view has been expressed in a practical and definite form in the findings of the Committee on National Expenditure.† 'The general effect of Government action, national and local, since 1924 had been to add to the national burdens. These have now attained to such a proportion of the national income that they must be considered definitely restrictive of industrial enterprise and employment. . . . Only by the strictest regard to economy and efficiency over a long period can the trade of the country be restored to its pre-War prosperity and any substantial number of unemployed be re-absorbed into industry.'

In opposition to this point of view there is another school of economic thought which, although it recognises the international character of the problem, none the less maintains that a reduction of expenditure beyond the necessities of a sound Budget policy should be avoided, and considers that any benefits derived from a relief of taxation would be outweighed by the reduction of purchasing power and the consequent falling off in demand. The signatories of Addendum I to the Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry ‡ pronounced against a reduction in the general purchasing power and especially against a reduction in wages, and the recent campaign in favour of retrenchment has led a number of well-known economists to raise warning voices against an ill-considered and uneconomical reduction in the public services. Professor Gregory, in his 'Gold, Unemployment, and Capitalism,' writes: 'Much harm has been done by the refusal of the business world to see that a great deal of the expenditure upon the social services is not only no ultimate drain upon business life, but is absolutely necessary expenditure . . . to put the matter in its most sordid form, upon the continuance of such public provision a whole series of organised industries nowadays depends.'

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\* Professor Pigou, in his 'Theory of Unemployment,' maintains, in a highly theoretical discussion, that the elasticity of demand for labour is greater than unity, so that a given reduction in wage rates will bring about a more than proportional increase in employment.

† Op. cit., pp. 14 and 220.

‡ Committee on Finance and Industry, Report, and 3897 Addendum I, signed by T. Allen, E. Bevin, J. M. Keynes, R. McKenna, J. Frater Taylor, A. A. G. Tulloch, pp. 190-202.

During the last two years an ever-growing number of economists have declared themselves in favour of a forward policy in regard to capital investment. They point out that the partial recovery from the acute depression of 1931 had led to a measure of stability in the economic system, but that our industries are still working at a deplorably low level and that there is very little sign of spontaneous revival. They urge the Government, therefore, to give some positive stimulus to production, and are generally agreed that this can best be done by an increased expenditure on public works to be financed out of loans. Such a policy would, in their opinion, reinforce the measures that have already been taken by the Government and the Bank of England to provide cheap money, and would therefore be calculated to have an immediate and practical effect in restoring the general level of commodity prices.\*

It is undoubtedly true that, in present circumstances, a good case can be made out for a policy of this kind. It has always been a tradition of British finance that all expenditure by the central Government on capital improvements and on subsidies should be paid out of current revenue. It might, however, be advisable in the future to allow a certain amount of expenditure on 'capital account,' to be financed out of loans, in so far as such expenditure represents the creation of real assets. In doing so the central Government would be following the principle that has long been applied to Local Authorities. A moderate policy of this kind would not, of course, satisfy the inflationists. Mr Keynes would probably condemn it as worse than useless and, with the strange logic of the economists, he would, whilst advocating a vast expenditure on public works, condemn as unorthodox a moderate measure of assistance to productive industry. It is, however, possible to argue that in present circumstances the Government could do no better than pursue a policy of 'wise opportunism.' It would be mere

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\* See a letter in 'The Times,' March 10, 1933, signed by a number of leading economists. Also 'The Means of Prosperity,' by Professor J. M. Keynes, 1933. A further argument for such a policy arises from the fact that during recent years real investment has not kept pace with saving. See 'Investment, Saving, and Public Finance,' by Colin Clark, in 'What Everybody Wants to Know About Money.'

pedantry to deny that much good may be done by granting Government assistance to selected industries or to particular areas, and yet the sphere of direct State intervention must of necessity be strictly limited. A permanent recovery of industry and trade can only be ensured as the result of a general world revival; artificial stimulus by the Government can only to an indirect and uncertain extent lead to improvement in the export trade. Capital will only be directed into the channels which changing economic conditions make desirable if there is a general recovery in prices and profits. There is always a danger that Government enterprise will be used to buoy up declining industries with subsidies, rather than to experiment in new industries in which the conditions of production and demand are uncertain. Production, moreover, has been shifting from the heavy industries to the distributive and luxury trades, and these industries, which are dependent on changes in fashion to a much larger degree than the heavy industries, are not suitable recipients of help from public money. When all is said and done, it is probably true that a greater benefit can be derived from a reduction in the burden of taxation than by an increase of prices through inflation. In the former case the advantage is, admittedly, felt first by the entrepreneur and investing class, but it is, for this very reason, a quicker stimulus to industrial expansion than the increase of demand through the extension of purchasing power in the hands of the wage-earners.

It should also be remembered that the capital expenditure of the central Government and of Local Authorities already constitutes a considerable proportion of the total national investment in each year, and that all additional loan Expenditure involves an increase in the burden of fixed interest charges which must to a certain extent counteract the stimulating effects of rising prices. It has been estimated that the total net investment in 1929 was 380l. millions, and that approximately 130l. millions, or one-third of the total, was invested by the central Government and Local Authorities; \* the expenditure of Local Authorities out of loans for capital

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\* 'Investment, Saving, and Public Finance,' Colin Clark, in 'What Everybody Wants to Know About Money,' edited by G. D. H. Cole, pp. 414 *et seq.*

investment was 90 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions.\* The extent of the loan expenditure of Local Authorities is further illustrated by the fact that in 1930 the total loan charges on the outstanding debts amounted to 93 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions.† Whatever may be the policy adopted in regard to loan expenditure by the central Government, it is inevitable that the loans to Local Authorities will be continued on a sufficiently large scale to be a matter of profound importance to the financial position of the country as a whole, and it is vital, therefore, that they should be based upon a coherent and co-ordinated policy. The loans of Local Authorities are in the vast majority of cases raised on the authority of the Ministry of Health acting under powers conferred by Act of Parliament. 'There is good reason for the concentration of the power to sanction loans in this Department, because that is the only way in which the whole financial position of a Local Authority can be effectively brought under review.'‡ It has, however, been suggested on more than one occasion that there should be some general supervision by the Treasury, or at least that the total amount of the loans to be sanctioned in any given year should be arranged in consultation between the Ministry of Health and the Treasury. Only in this way can the individual investments of each Local Authority be brought into relation with the general financial policy of the Government.§

\* 'Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom,' Cmd. 4233, 1933, p. 195.

† It is, of course, true that such loans represent real assets, and that the borrowing of Local Authorities cannot be compared with the borrowing on the Unemployment Insurance Fund, which was merely a means of deferring a liability. In so far as loans are used to finance public utility services, such as tramways, gas, electricity, and water supplies, they bring in a direct return. The loan charges for 1930, excluding those allocated to trading services, amounted to 52 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions. In 1929 the gross outstanding Loan Debt of the Local Authorities was 1224 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions. The largest single item was Housing, 395 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions; Highways and Bridges represented 103 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions; Public Buildings, 163 $\frac{1}{2}$  millions; Water, Gas, Electricity, and Tramways together, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ . See Finer, 'English Local Government,' p. 331.

‡ See Minutes I, Royal Commission on Local Government, p. 58.

§ Finer, 'English Local Government' pp. 304 *et seq.* See also 'Select Committee on the Estimates,' 1932, p. 2. 'The stage at which the State is really committed to expenditure from voted monies in future years is when the responsible Departments are asked to sanction a scheme submitted by a Local Authority, and it is at this stage, therefore, that, in the opinion of your Committee, financial control requires to be strengthened.'

It is not possible within the scope of this article to discuss in any detail the merits of different forms of capital investment, or to consider the respective claims of different industries for the receipt of subsidies. It is, however, necessary to distinguish clearly between two alternative policies. The new capital investment may be undertaken with the intention of providing the maximum increase in social well-being, or it may be the intention of the Government to choose a form of investment which will ensure a direct return; it does not by any means follow that a form of investment which is socially advantageous is therefore 'productive.' It is clear that from every point of view there is much to be said for public expenditure on housing. Building opens out the possibility of a large amount of indirect employment; it is essentially an internal industry, and housing subsidies, therefore, are not open to the criticism that an industry is being fostered at home which is more economically conducted abroad; from a social point of view a progressive housing policy is desirable since there is still a real and pressing need for decent houses at suitable rents for the lower-paid sections of the community. Nevertheless, the present Government decided to discontinue the subsidies payable under the Wheatley scheme, because there was good reason to suppose that, with the re-establishment of more normal conditions, economic forces operating in a free field would secure an increase in the production of working-class houses for letting at competitive rents; in so far as private enterprise fails to satisfy the need, the responsibility for the provision of suitable houses now rests with the Local Authorities. This policy has, in fact, been justified by the result. During the past year a record has been achieved in the number of working-class houses built by private enterprise.\* There can be no doubt that the low term interest rates, which have prevailed for more than two years and for which the successful Government Conversion Scheme of 1932 was largely responsible, have been a very potent factor in stimulating the building trade. It has been calculated that a fall in the rate of interest from 6 per cent. to 4 per cent. represents a differ-

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\* See Ministry of Health Annual Report, 1933-1934.



ence of 3s. 6d. in the rent of an ordinary parlour house.\* Nevertheless, there is still a strong argument for special assistance for housing in those districts which have suffered from acute trade depression, and in which it is impossible to provide improved housing by private enterprise or out of rates. In this connection it is interesting to remark that the Government Investigator for the North-Eastern area recommended in his Report that a special housing scheme might be inaugurated for Tyne-side and the County of Durham where, according to the standard laid down by the Housing Act of 1930, 60,000 families are still living in unsuitable dwellings. A strong case can also be made for subsidies to new industries which are likely to prove remunerative, such as the manufacture of petrol from coal. The assistance given to agriculture is, on the other hand, open to severe criticism on strictly economic grounds. This is especially true of the Sugar Beet Subsidy, since it can be argued that successive Governments have deliberately encouraged the expansion of an industry which is already suffering from world over-production. It must, however, be remembered that the present Government has pursued a comprehensive policy of encouraging and reorganising agricultural production for social and political rather than for economic reasons. The dislocation and distress resulting from a complete collapse of farming in this country would far outweigh the cost of the existing subsidies.

It is all the more essential, if a forward policy is adopted in regard to capital investment, to avoid every unnecessary addition to the burden of rates and taxes. It must, however, be admitted that the possibilities of an actual reduction in public expenditure are limited. It is sometimes possible by far-reaching reforms to effect economies without seriously impairing the value of the service concerned. This is true of the recent reforms in regard to Unemployment Assistance and able-bodied out-relief; the new system, when it comes into operation, should make possible a more just and equitable administration at a reduced cost. But opportunities of this kind do not occur frequently. The defence services have

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\* 'Investment, Saving, and Public Finance,' by Colin Clark, in 'What Everybody Wants to Know About Money,' p. 424.

already been reduced to the minimum necessary for security, and in regard to the other Departments of the Government it is probably true to say that economies would be effected only by reducing the efficiency of the service. The Report of the Committee on National Expenditure endorses the opinion of the Anderson Committee of 1923, that the immense increase in the Civil Service pay roll is the inevitable result of the multiplicity of duties that have been thrust upon the Departments since the War. The Civil Service is not over-staffed, nor is it over-paid; there is no reason to doubt the efficiency of the present system of Treasury control, and economy is, therefore, a matter, not of administration, but of policy.

In so far as there is actual waste and maladministration, this is probably confined to certain Local Authorities, and in this respect the Report of the Committee on Local Expenditure is far less reassuring than the Report of the Committee on National Expenditure. The Local Authorities have not yet attained to the high standard of integrity and efficiency of the Civil Services, and it is doubtful whether they will ever do so unless greater public interest is shown in the work of local government. It is, however, conceivable, even in existing circumstances, that some improvement might be effected by the institution of more strict methods of inspection on the part of the central departments and by a determined endeavour to ascertain the reasons for the wide disparity that now exists between the cost of similar services in different areas.\*

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\* Cf. Report of Committee on Expenditure of Local Authorities: 'We have in various places in our report drawn attention to the wide variation of expenditure on comparable services administered by different authorities, and we have no doubt that closer administration by Local Authorities and a more careful check by the Government Departments would bring about very large economies without in any way impairing the services. One of the most potent means of securing more effective administration lies in the proper use of statistical returns of costing system. . . . We regard it as a most important function of the central Department, that where wide differences are found in the cost of what would appear to be comparable services, definite action should be taken to discover the reason for these variations, and to assist Local Authorities whose expenditure is high to reduce that expenditure by closer administration, and by adopting the practice which has been found successful and economical by other authorities.'

It is a matter for regret, too, that recent legislation has to a certain extent diminished the powers of control of the District Auditors. Before 1927, when the new Audit (Local Authorities) Act was passed, there was a good deal of criticism of the District Auditors who were accused of acting as the political henchmen of the Ministry of Health. There is, in fact, no justification for the view that their action was unduly restrictive. None the less, the whole issue came to a head over the Poplar case. The new Act provides that, where the sum surcharged is more than 500*l.*, an appeal against the auditors' decision *must* be made to the High Court and not to the Minister.

This was obviously a desirable reform, but the same Act also included a provision that the Court or the Minister might relieve the person surcharged from his financial liability if he could show that 'he had acted reasonably or in the belief that his action was authorised by law.' This provision has in effect seriously diminished the efficiency of audit. Local Authorities know that they will, in all probability, not be surcharged for illegal expenditure unless it can be proved that they were *deliberately* and *consciously* breaking the law. Surcharge, therefore, tends to become ineffective except in cases of flagrant dishonesty—which are, of course, rare. It is suggested that to improve the conduct of local administration it is advisable to strengthen the powers of the District Auditors; and that, in order to do away with any suggestion that these officials might be influenced by political considerations, their connection with a Government Department should be severed and they should be placed under the control of the Comptroller and Auditor General.

The purpose of this article has been to show that the great increase in our public expenditure during recent years has been due largely to a change in public opinion regarding the functions of the State, which was already becoming noticeable before 1914, and which the War and its aftermath have done so much to intensify. It is futile to declaim against interference by the Government in matters affecting the welfare of the community when there is a general consensus of opinion in favour of such interference. And, although expenditure on social services is admittedly a heavy burden on industry, its

beneficial effects in improving the health and increasing the spending power of the people must not be lost sight of. Just as the demand for Government interference to-day in the actual organisation of industry is the result of new conditions and of the prevailing industrial congestion and confusion, so the direct intervention of the State in the social life of the people is the result of the inattention to their needs and of the neglect of their interests which marked the Victorian era. A return to the customs and methods of the nineteenth century and a consequent lowering of the standard of living of the people, which some strict economists persist in advocating, is neither desirable nor practicable. It may be argued, of course, that unless such a policy is adopted the country will be faced with another financial crisis such as it had to face in 1931. The record of the present Government, however, proves that it is possible to live within our means without reducing the well-being of the community, and, so long as this can be done in a time of economic stringency, there would appear to be no real need to curtail public expenditure on social services which assist so materially the poorer classes of the people.

The task, therefore, of statesmen must be to keep down existing expenditure as far as possible by wise and careful administration; to remember that new expenditure implies fresh taxation and to refrain, accordingly, from embarking upon new commitments of a continuing character, however beneficial they may appear to be, until they are convinced that a real and lasting improvement in the financial condition of the country can justify their action; and to bear continually in mind the paramount importance of re-establishing our competitive position in the world in order to find employment for our people.

CUTHBERT HEADLAM.

## SOME RECENT BOOKS.

Mr Lloyd George's 'War Memoirs'—Prince Louis of Battenberg—Lord Esher—Fox—Minto and Morley—Prince Rupert and Charles's England—Sir Robert Morant—Commerce and Industry—'Force'—Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare—'The Platonic Legend'—'Architecture in Fiction'—Faust—Michelangelo—'Le Rythme de la Vie'—A Bible Anthology—Plays by Conrad—All Hallows—Mr Bensusan's Essex—'Spanish Raggle-Taggle'—'The Modern Fowler'—Lady Gordon—'Rachel's' Parodies.

THE third and fourth volumes of Mr Lloyd George's 'War Memoirs' (Ivor Nicholson and Watson) have now appeared, bringing that monumental work to the end of 1917—and incidentally to page 2440. It is, of course, a book which no student of the War can ignore, except to his loss. It is written with skill and the knowledge and experience of one of the most outstanding war ministers in our history, who has been able to make use of more official and private documents than we imagine any one before has done, for a non-official book written for his own advantage. It is valuable history, but history presented to set off the achievements of the author in the most flattering light. Mr Lloyd George has been much criticised, and it is only natural that he should make full and deft use of the rapier of counter-criticism, but he cannot resist turning the weapon in the wound, and thereby causing the greater pain to those who had the temerity to disagree with him. This consistent strain of paying off grudges takes from his work some of the dignity which restraint would have given it.

For one who professes to have no claim to be a strategist, Mr Lloyd George is singularly free with his strategical comments, criticisms and propositions. His name is always associated with the cult of the Heaven-inspired amateur as against the professional, and in many cases his flair for finding the right man from outside to run the machine of war-organisation in this country was remarkable and of the greatest benefit; but the ordinary reader must wonder how, if the professionally trained admirals and generals were really as uniformly inefficient, hide-bound, and muddle-headed as they are made out to

be in these volumes, we won the war, even with Mr Lloyd George to guide us. He was the convinced and unrepentant upholder of 'side-shows,' as against the main scene of action in France. He is convinced that we could have ended the war much sooner if his strategical advice had been listened to. Could we not have driven a wedge from northern Italy to the gates of Vienna in 1917, instead of the costly campaigns in France? Perhaps we could. It matters not to him that all the military authorities, British, French and Italian, were against him or lukewarm in support. No doubt they were in error! How alluring and futile is the game of what-might-have-been if only things had been ordered otherwise than they were. We come to the Passchendaele campaign and it makes sad reading. If Mr Lloyd George has proved his case, Lord Haig stands condemned as a man who, in the safe seclusion of G.H.Q. and against the best advice, deliberately planned and forced assent to a foredoomed attack over impossible ground and continued it with ruthless and reckless disregard of life, all for the sake of his own personal ambition. We are told that the French, far from wanting the campaign, were resolutely opposed to it, and that in this they were in accord with Lord Haig's own superior commanders. We are told that Lord Haig himself and Sir William Robertson, the C.I.G.S., promised to break off the attack if it proved unsuccessful at first, but far from doing so persisted for four months in order to justify their action; withheld essential information from the Cabinet, distorted facts to suit their case, and falsified the casualty returns; while all they could show in the way of gain at the end, as a result of 400,000 casualties, were a few miles of shell-wrecked country, less than a quarter of what was to have been the first of three objectives. These are grave charges and they are set out with clarity and skill. It is permissible, however, to point out that the evidence given in support of the natural impossibility of the ground is slight, and the curious fact that one of the most completely successful campaigns of the war was carried out over precisely the same ground in September and October 1918 is not alluded to. Of course in 1918 the opposing forces and the artillery bombardment were on a much smaller scale, but that does not affect the intrinsic qualities of the country.

As to the disapproval of the French generals, we are given extracts from the diary of Sir Henry Wilson, a work which, it will be generally admitted, was more picturesque than historically reliable. We are told that many of Lord Haig's generals equally disapproved of the plan, though they carried it out loyally. Of such loyalty to their Commander-in-Chief Mr Lloyd George can only say, 'Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to send their troops to die.' Surely a cheap and unworthy gibe, concerning which further comment is unnecessary. The Battle of Cambrai is dismissed in a few pages—a brilliant idea planned by a staff officer, bungled in execution by Lord Byng, and doomed to failure through the want of the reserves still kept in the Flanders mud. In fact it is the same wearisome story of incompetence of those in high command. Why then did Mr Lloyd George, feeling as he did, not recall Lord Haig and those other erring commanders? His answer is that such was the incompetence of our generals that none could be found in the whole army to take the place of those dismissed and that the protests of those who still believed in the generals and the consequent political storm at home would have been too great. He could not face the storm; but how about his responsibility for the lives which he believed were still being needlessly sacrificed?

That the Passchendaele attack failed and our casualties were painfully heavy cannot be disputed. Can it be proved that Mr Lloyd George's proposed drive through northern Italy would have been more successful? In all big wars there must, alas, be costly failures, and because they fail they are condemned. They might, however, have succeeded—how different the story then! Those of us who took part in and survived the Flanders campaign of 1917 will hardly thank Mr Lloyd George for trying to prove to us that all the noble efforts made there by our comrades, all the unspeakable horrors endured, all the losses suffered were in fact entirely useless and foredoomed to failure from the beginning and merely a sacrifice on the altar of ambition of one wilfully blind and obstinate man.

It is with greater pleasure that we turn to the account of the organisation of the 'Home Front' after Mr Lloyd George assumed control as Prime Minister; the establish-



ment of the Ministry of Shipping, the control and restriction of imports, the supply of home-grown timber, food production, rationing, feeding our allies, national service, and kindred subjects. The machine of organisation in this country had begun to creak and to strain to an alarming degree, and it required all the driving power and brilliance of initiation and adaptation which Mr Lloyd George had shown at the Ministry of Munitions to get it running smoothly under the ever-increasing pressure. In this he was remarkably successful, and the country owes him a lasting debt of gratitude. Space in a review will not permit of even summarising the manifold actions taken. It is an absorbing story as told in the book, though unfortunately marred by bitter personal attacks on and disparagement of such colleagues as Mr Runciman, Mr Neville Chamberlain, and Lord Grey. Readers, jarred by these personal references, will regret their inclusion and question their taste.

When it comes to dealing with Russia and the development of the revolution in 1917, Mr Lloyd George presents us with a lurid but convincing picture of inefficiency, bungling, and corruption, leading to inevitable disaster, though he maintains that the disaster could have been postponed if we had been more generous to and considerate of Russia in the way of material and equipment earlier in the war. In this he appears to be an optimist. The hopeless mismanagement and the breakdown in the distribution of supplies there hardly gave cause for confidence in the proper use of further ammunition and material whatever control the Allies might have tried to exercise over it. Money poured into the hands of a reckless gambler may stave off the day of disaster but can effect no cure. In his views on Russia Mr Lloyd George is directly at variance with Mr Churchill, who holds that Russia was already past the worst of her troubles and at last feeling her way to the light of a less corrupt regime and a better working organisation when she was overwhelmed and thrown back into darkness by the revolution. It makes an interesting speculation, but we confess to finding Mr Lloyd George's views of the inevitable end of the Tsarist system the more convincing.

In the chapter dealing with the events leading up to

and the formation of the supreme Inter-Allied Council at Versailles, Mr Lloyd George summarises his views on the achievements and failures of 1917. Readers will be impressed by some of his phrases. The considered and confidential reports of G.H.Q. are dismissed as 'optimistic slosh'; Lord Haig is said to be in a state of 'morbid exaltation' and 'not in a state to give sober advice'; Sir William Robertson (who at Rapallo when in agreement with Mr Lloyd George is referred to as 'that great general') is said to be sulky, obstinate, and entirely lacking in initiative. It is unprofitable dealing further with these unpleasing personalities; but attention must be called to the fact that when Mr Lloyd George wanted a comprehensive appreciation of the situation in general, and of Lord Haig's work in particular, he asked for a report from Lord French, whom Lord Haig had superseded in supreme command, and from Sir Henry Wilson, who, judging from his own diaries, had some hope of succeeding him if dismissed. If Mr Lloyd George had wanted an unbiassed opinion of his own work in 1917 would he have selected Mr Asquith and some one else likely to attain to high office in the event of his resignation for the purpose? We doubt it. Mr Lloyd George is a lawyer. He has a case to prepare for the Court of Public Opinion. That case is his own war achievement and reputation. He may get the verdict which he desires or may not; but even if he does it will be only a barren victory when it is achieved by blasting the reputations and blackening the characters of those whom we have learned to revere as leaders and great men. To attack the character of an opponent is not usually considered to be the sign of a strong case; and there are many who admire Mr Lloyd George as a war minister who will regret that he has descended to such methods.

Admiral Mark Kerr in his 'Life of Prince Louis of Battenberg, Admiral of the Fleet' (Longmans) pays a noble tribute to the memory of a great man to whom this country owed much, and repaid the debt shabbily. It is a curious fact that Prince Louis and Lord Haldane, who did so much to make our navy and army fit to fight the Germans, were both sacrificed to an explosion of misguided patriotism for their supposed pro-German inclinations. Prince Louis became a loyal subject of Queen Victoria when still a small boy, and in his loyalty to the

country of his adoption he never wavered. He chose to enter the British navy largely because the advantages of his high birth would be least likely there to bring him undeserved promotion. His own qualities won his way for him, and it is safe to say that if he had started as plain John Smith he would still have ended as an admiral. At sea the uniformly fine achievements, both at work and at play, of the ships which he commanded and on land his record of work at the Admiralty, the way in which his advice was sought by the highest authorities, and the success of various improvements and new methods initiated by him all prove his outstanding merit as a sailor. Of his personal charm, his high sense of honour, and his good fellowship there could be no two opinions among those who had the privilege of knowing him.

The late Lord Esher was somewhat of a mystery to his generation, and it is doubtful whether the recently published volumes of *'The Letters and Journals of Reginald Viscount Esher'* (Ivor Nicholson and Watson) will solve the mystery. Was he a man of great ability who shirked responsibility and desired only a dilettante life of ease, and basking in the sunshine of royal favour and pulling strings behind the scenes? Or was he so conscious of his limitations that, owing to rooted conscientiousness, he would not undertake positions for which he felt he was unfit or endanger public welfare by his own feared failure, while determined to do what he knew that he could do well and give shrewd advice to those in more prominent positions? Several extracts from the letters quoted seem to give colour to the former interpretation, but we think that Lord Esher is doing himself less than justice. Much in the book shows that he was not afraid of responsibility, provided it did not entail parliamentary life and public debating. The interest in these volumes lies in the picture which they give of an unusual man, deeply cultured, of great artistic taste, a lover of literature and history, the adviser of monarchs and statesmen, the friend, and the happy and devoted husband and father. For those who had the privilege of his friendship no book is required to recall the charm of his personality, his kindness of heart, and the interest of his conversation.

Mr Christopher Hobhouse is heartily to be congratulated on his *'Fox'* (Constable). It is an achievement

of which any writer of experience might be proud, but as the work of a new writer it is not only notable in itself but gives promise of distinction to come. Mr Hobhouse treats a well-worn subject with skill, detachment, wit, historical balance, and attraction of style. What is the key to Fox's extraordinary career? Before he was twenty-five he had gambled away a huge fortune; he was dissolute; he committed almost every political blunder and violated almost every social canon; he seemed deliberately to trample on the better feelings of all to whom he would naturally look for support; he spent twenty years in the political wilderness; yet by character and sheer ability lived down even the Regency scandal, his coalition with North, and his adulation of Napoleon. He died as Foreign Secretary and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He challenged the disapproval of the world, he gave his enemies every possible advantage and yet overcame them all. It was impossible to bear malice against a man who had never hidden anything, either of his public or his private life or pretended to be anything but what he was. If his personal charm was his undoing, in that from boyhood onward he disarmed healthy criticism and only received adulation, it was also his means of escape from the disasters into which he threw himself.

Any one who wants to know what a Viceroy's life is like should read 'India, Minto and Morley' (Macmillan), by Mary, Countess of Minto. It is a life of glamour, heavy responsibility, unceasing work, political and administrative, much anxiety, no little danger, endless social duties, and with all that, of unique opportunities for sport and recreation. The underlying purpose of this book is to give credit where credit is due for the great work known as the Morley-Minto reforms, to the credit for which Lord Morley laid undue claim. Lord Curzon is quoted as having said, in questionable taste, that there had been sent out to succeed him in India a man who only jumped fences. If Lord Curzon himself had been the true sportsman that Lord Minto was, across country and elsewhere, he would have been a greater viceroy. This volume shows Lord Minto to have been a wise statesman as well as a gallant gentleman, and Lady Minto, by mixing the powder of official and political correspondence with the jam of her own diary and

reminiscences, has produced with skill a volume which is informative and entertaining, politically valuable and socially interesting.

There was call for a full biography of 'Prince Rupert' (Bles), as many persons, including students of the Great Rebellion, from the partiality or incompleteness of the histories, had come to regard him merely as a sort of flashing phantom, plumed, furiously charging Round-heads, and through his incontrollable vehemence rushing on to futility. Mr James Cleugh, in this biography, which points the faults of his hero as well as his brilliant qualities, provides a valuable corrective to that. He proves Rupert to have been not only a dashing soldier in the Civil War but for strategy and resourcefulness second to the Great Oliver alone, as well as of outstanding distinction in art and experimental science. He invented the mezzotint process of engraving and worked successfully in the laboratory. Not everybody loved him. The Queen Mother disliked and frustrated him because of his inalterable Protestantism, while Mr Pepys disapproved of him but simply because little Samuel was Mr Pepys. Yet with all the diversities of his adventurous spirit, which in a man of energy are bound sometimes to cause him to clash with others of a like or of slower dispositions, he was generally loved by those who best knew him; while he gave to his adopted country such loyal service, even apart from his efforts for the Charleses, that he deserves a high place in the list of English worthies. And, still about Stuart times, a book like Mr Arthur Bryant's 'The England of Charles II' (Longmans) is a useful corrective for loose sentimental talk about 'the good old days.' If modern readers were miraculously able to pay a visit to those days, how long would they want to stay? Picturesque they were, no doubt, but the colour covered corruption and the romance was pervaded by stench. The moral atmosphere was low, and personal habits and tastes too often, according to our standards, were bestial. Mr Bryant with his customary skill presents us with a vivid picture—the approach to England, London, the Country, Religion, Health and Disease, Habits and Pastimes, Etiquette and Manners, Trade, Industry, Politics, Government and Education. We are given a glimpse of all these aspects as they would appear to a stranger then visiting this country. As a

picture it is interesting, as an actual experience it would be sadly disillusioning and nauseous.

Dr Bernard M. Allen's description of 'Sir Robert Morant' (Macmillan) as 'a great public servant' is just and true, and only incomplete because those who knew Morant are aware that, even beyond his pioneer work for elementary education and public health in England, shone his fineness as a man and a friend. This excellent biography is sufficient to its purpose and well done; but more than anything else it brings out the sense of the fleetness of time and of the general waste of energies spent in politics. The old controversies in which Morant was engaged, especially over education, seem now to be as dead as Queen Anne; and it is probable that not only Macaulay's inspired schoolboy but that schoolboy's inspired tutor would find it hard to say what the Cockerton Judgment implied and what it led to. Yet who can say that those political energies, even though at the time they caused ill-tempers and bad manners more than enough, were wasted? Whether they were so or not, it is well for us to be reminded of Robert Morant's life and character as his was a further instance of the value of the Civil Service.

The stories of individual energy and courage in building up private fortunes have often been told, and almost as frequently their morals pressed to encourage others to do likewise. Here is a volume, 'British Commerce and Industry' (Russell-Square Press), which asserts the necessity and value of corporate enterprise in the production of wealth; and consequently, for in these days the two must go together, of social welfare. It deals with the post-War transition of industry, ranging between 1919 and 1934, and, of course, tells a tale of enormous developments, even of a revolution, in methods. It is unquestionably effective. In reading these accounts of the extension and rationalisation of industries, including engineering in its many branches, pharmacy, paper-making, joint-stock banking, electricity, steel-producing, and much else, one can only admire and feel a new confidence in British enterprise and ability to remain second to none in the fields of practical endeavours.

Lord Davies in his insistent appeals and arguments, endeavouring to counteract a militant mentality and the



other causes that tend to lead to a renewed wantonness of war, is happily not a voice crying in the wilderness; for most reasonable women and men think and say much (but not altogether) as he does. Too often it looks as if fear or a consciousness of the possession of power—though fear seems to be the stronger as an indirect incentive to over-armament and the tendency of war—were more effectual than persuasive efforts for peace. In 'Force' (Benn) the author studies many aspects of the highly-vexed question of securing a permanent determination to peace among the nations, and brings out the truth that the sword, the gun, armies, navies, as such, are not enough. But in trying to fix the blame for the present dangerous uncertainties mainly on Great Britain, he is manifestly unjust. Whether our statesmen might have done more to develop the potentialities of the League of Nations is a fair question; but not to recognise that they have done better than the statesmen of any other country to strengthen the League and use it for its proper purposes is simply to be a little obstinately purblind. And in that moral responsibility for making the great organization for peace work, where do the United States stand? Lord Davies's volume bristles with opportunities for disagreement; but it deserves to be read and inwardly digested, as the root of the matter is contained in its pages.

It is interesting to those who, while recognising the greatness of Chaucer and Spenser in English poetry, deplore their frequent neglect to find two scholarly and inspiring volumes about them recently published, stimulating to a renewed interest in their works. Dr John Livingston Lowe's 'Geoffrey Chaucer' (Oxford University Press) is brilliant in its diction and suggestions, and especially valuable as it provides much that hitherto has been somewhat overlooked by scholars; as, for example, the general mental furniture of the Middle Ages—'planetary hours, and spheres, and signs of the zodiac, and elements, and humours, and the lore of magnets, and Anthropophagi and astrolabes'—elements all in Chaucer's thoughts and imagery. Also we have a full record of the poet's wide experiences of public affairs and in reading, especially in Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. Those influences are clearly apparent in the works and to recognise them leads to an enhanced ap-



preciation especially of 'Troilus and Criseyde' and the 'Canterbury Tales,' that masterpiece which is 'not merely dipt, but drenched, in life'—in English life, with Chaucer, his very self, breathing still among the ever-living pilgrims. Fully as necessary also is it for Edmund Spenser to be interpreted, as the neglect of him, though rather more justifiable, is greater than that of Chaucer, the 'footing of whose feet' confessedly he followed. When we opened Dr Janet Spens' interpretation of 'Spenser's Faerie Queen' (Arnold) and found that she was studying it as a philosophical poem, we were somewhat disconcerted, as we had always read it as an expression of lyric emotions, joyful or otherwise, rich with colour and melody and chivalrous idealism, and carefully had ignored the allegory. Dr Spens' study is, however, infinitely more valuable than that earliest impression promised, and proves to be not only for Spenser's thought but for his many poetic qualities the most helpful work of constructive criticism of the Epic that has appeared for many years. She analyses the poem, pieces together fragments of a first attempt with the second and gives reasons to believe that the original plan was for the 'Faerie Queene' to consist of eight books of eight cantos each, with Prince Arthur's quest of Gloriana herself as its main theme. He represented the soul and she was Heavenly Beauty; while the dragon of the first canto was the subsequent Blatant Beast whose 'death' illustrated one of the worst of Macaulay's howlers in a brilliant article which certainly was a part cause of the later neglect of Spenser. That neglect is passing and soon should pass; but why do both these books lack the essential index?

Twenty-five years is a long time in the development of Shakespearean criticism, especially in later years when better readings of the text and further knowledge of the Elizabethan and Jacobean habits of mind have been pursued, accumulated, and prudently applied: and not the least of the services done by this dainty reprint of George Saintsbury's two chapters on 'Shakespeare' (Cambridge University Press) comes from its showing where such criticism stood in 1909 and where it stands now. That is encouraging. The position is strengthened by the publication of 'The New Temple Shakespeare' (Dent), a development from the famous series established

forty years ago, which—showing how far more appreciated the Poet has been than many might have supposed—in its time sold every year a quarter of a million copies. A right reward for a great inspiration and enterprise artistically as well as thoughtfully done. To judge from 'As You Like It,' one of the earliest volumes in the new series, it is edited by Mr M. R. Ridley of Balliol with insight and without fuss. How views have changed in the last twenty-five years is instanced in regard to the death of Marlowe over 'the reckoning.' Touchstone's passing remark 'strikes a man more dead than a great reckoning in a little room' must be a direct reference to that tragedy, of which naturally there is nothing in Saintsbury's breezy and characteristic pages. Rather there is some misapprehension over Marlowe, for he refers to 'the peculiar dream-quality of Marlowe,' which means nothing at all. Where was that dream quality? Saintsbury, as always, is vigorous and his remarks about King Claudius are suggestive, but the best part of his book is Miss Helen Waddell's tribute to the grand old Victorian man and master.

Nowadays every institution in saintship and scholarship, and other kinds of ship, has its assailants; but it comes as a particular shock to the conventional to discover a work of such mordant and destructive criticism as Professor Warner Fite of Princetown has directed against 'The Platonic Legend' (Scribners); the more so as recently Mr Lowes Dickinson and others have glorified Plato and sometimes gone so far in their idealisation as to recognise in his personal example and philosophy something of the spirit of Christ. If the arguments and suggestions of this book stand the test of the counterblasts that will be made against it, then will the values of classical times and their exponents be permanently altered. Plato the man, the philosopher, the early promoter of scientific methods, the ideal state-builder, in all those aspects and in others is vigorously assailed, with examples given. His perfect state is illusory, 'perhaps the most Utopian and impracticable of all schemes' (though the Soviet system is a near approach to it); while his general view of life was affected because he distrusted human nature and was himself 'not virile,' was 'feminine,' 'a defeated aristocrat.' As to his theories of love, both he

and Socrates are frankly charged here with practices that some of their champions have explained away as having been merely spiritual, an intellectual ideal, having nothing positively to do with sex. His book cannot be ignored, it is thrusting in its destructive assertiveness, and we anticipate for it in consequence some breezy re-creminations, not altogether philosophic.

Dr Warren Hunting Smith chose for his philosophical thesis, offered to the Graduate School at Yale University, an amusing side-line of literature. 'Architecture in English Fiction' (Oxford University Press) besides being entertaining is instructive over literary facts and fashions. Necessarily architecture has formed a setting to human activities on the stage and in books, whether it was the poor hovel in which Lear sheltered from the storm or the castle wherein Duncan was murdered. But, as Dr Smith shows, it first became a positive force in literature when the Gothic novel was invented by Horace Walpole and buildings took pains to reflect the passions of their occupants. With 'The Castle of Otranto' he set a fashion; and portentous, gloomy, awful edifices, dark and sublime—sublime was the frequent word—were perpetrated, in which madmen, monsters, and heroines were incarcerated and tragedy wore its blackest stage-costumes. So amusing are the instances of that period of fiction that Dr Smith lingers over it disproportionately, but not unduly so far as the interest of the reader is concerned; with the result that he had to concentrate his material in the later chapters, as with those concerned with Scott, and to ignore the buildings of the Mean Streets, such as Number 5, John Street, which have reflected as truly the realism of late Victorian days as the Gothicism of Walpole, Beckford, Lewis, and their associates did the mock-romanticism of the century before.

It cannot be done!—although Mr John Strawcross's effort to translate the First Part of Goethe's 'Faust' (Eric Partridge) is more successful than most, including the ponderous effort of Bayard Taylor. The principal failing in any such attempt to recreate in English this masterpiece, which, as Dr Gooch truly says, is 'as timeless as the Ninth Symphony,' is in its riming jingle. How can greatness survive such verse-tinklings? It cannot; and that also is the difficulty which nearly

always has turned the delicacies of Heine into English doggerel. Yet Goethe's 'Faust' has its messages and should be read, especially in these fretted and feverous times, and to go on with this version will do. But the work calls for a poet to write it in—prose. The joint-authors of the study of the major works and, very briefly, of the personality of Michelangelo in their book '**The Master**' (Oxford University Press) are in general so enthusiastic that there is some monotonous repetition in their laudations. It is a pity that the smaller people of this day too frequently have much the same epithets applied to their little works as are used here, for what then is left for genius—as now? Messrs Howard Whitehouse and Colin Rocke are, however, justified in their praise. The greatness of Michelangelo needs no trumpets, as their pleasant and, on the whole, helpful book proves.

Modestly described by its author, Mlle Marcelle de Somer, as an Essay, '**Le Rythme de la Vie. Le Bonheur**' (Les Invalides Reunis, Ghent) is a work in many respects considerable; for it has depth and extent, and much value as a close, well documented analysis of human life and happiness, sorrows, and normal practices in their physiological, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual aspects. It is a work of such wide research and application—'Lady Chatterley's Lovers,' Erasmus, Balzac, Mozart, Napoleon, Wagner, the Brontës, and Zola being amongst the references—that the pity is we can only devote to it this brevity; yet even an extensive study still must be misleading through its incompleteness. It is not a volume whose purpose can be put compactly into a formula; and, therefore, we leave it with the benedictory assertion that it is a balanced, common-sensible, unprejudiced study of the life-interests and weaknesses of mankind, of special appeal to psychologists and the more exacting students of human nature. The Earl of Lytton's little Bible anthology, happily entitled '**Old Treasure**' (Allen and Unwin), can hardly be called a novel idea or a new discovery, for something of the sort was done on a larger scale by the late W. L. Courtney and by others; but it can be commended for the good judgment of the selections made and their helpfulness in pointing and proving the direct relationship of the beauties of nature with God in His infinite power and wisdom. Familiar as many of

these passages are, they yet, in this guise, prove again their unfading freshness and the reality of their spiritual companionship.

It is interesting to study the experiments of established novelists in other domains of the literary art and almost inevitable for them to make attempts at play-writing. Meredith and Henry James did so and, especially the former, without conspicuous success. In 'Three Plays' (Methuen) Joseph Conrad has shown what he could do for the stage. The first two of this three, 'Laughing Anne' and 'One Day More,' are characteristic of his moods and mental interests, but too scrappy in form to be convincing, at least for reading; and it is doubtful whether their exacting requirements in the production would get them safely across the footlights. 'The Secret Agent,' which completes the group, is by far the best. It is a lurid story and prosy for a play, of the violence of anarchists and the somewhat doubtful processes of the police in dealing therewith. The story, political and domestic, is painted in violent colours, and would need enormous gusto to 'get it over'; but by actors who know their job and possibly had gained experience in the helpful over-emphasis of melodrama, it should be thrilling. It is, anyhow, interesting in view of its authorship; and peeping through the words, plainly to be seen, is Conrad's appreciation—that of a Pole—for the asylum given by freedom-loving England to exiles in adversity.

The unending interest of the City of London is again made manifest by the second part, and fifteenth volume, of the special study made by the L.C.C. Survey which has reached us. It treats of 'The Parish of All Hallows Barking' (Country Life Ltd.). In this fine tome that famous church, with its origins in Lancastrian and Yorkist times, and continuing to a further sanctification by Toc H, does not come; as it was dealt with in a preceding part. But the parish has an immeasurable interest apart from the church; and the pictured examination of the house which is No. 34, Great Tower Street, with particular doorways, staircases and fireplaces in Muscovy Court, Seething Lane, Trinity Square and elsewhere in the parish—what thoughts of history those names evoke!—proves it. There is no measuring the builded, available interest of London's

'one square mile.' From fact to—fact imbued with fiction. As Lord Ernle reminds us in his Foreword to Mr S. L. Bensusan's 'At the Sign of the Wheatsheaf' (Unicorn Press) good wine needs no bush; and, forsooth, this author, in the six volumes he has written of Essex folk living the agricultural life in the much-misunderstood county, has provided plenty of such stimulating nourishment. Here are ninety-six further studies of village worthies and unworthies, human all, in their dialect and daily circumstance; and skilfully, Mr Bensusan has reviewed their life for us. These studies already have historical value, and it is of good fortune to Essex that he has recorded these glimpses of passing characters and conditions while there is an opportunity for so doing, as Time so rapidly brings his changes. Excellent as these sketches are, the most charming pages in the book are the two dedicated to Mr Blumenfeld, which reflect a spirit of friendship imaginative and beautiful.

It is possible—as we judge from his 'Spanish Raggle-Taggle' (Murray)—that Mr Walter Starkie in his visits to Spain sees himself as robed in the spirit of Quixote; but he is no Knight of the Doleful Countenance nor is he Sancho Panza, though also he sees himself in that guise, for his idealism is less than quixotic and his robustness more cheerful and cultured than that of the shrewd little round countryman who loved his Dapple. No, it is more in the spirit of Rabelais, enjoying copious cups and the casual kisses of women, that Mr Starkie has journeyed from Bilbao to Madrid, gathering on the uphill, downhill way the means for board and lodging, and sometimes wine, by the sweat of his fiddle, and gleaning also any number of experiences good in themselves, which in time should be established as travellers' tales. This volume makes an excellent companion to his famous 'Raggle Taggle,' though, like most sequels or encores, it is not so rich or readable as its predecessor. Its author has caught much of the atmosphere, the glamour, of Spain; and if his view is rather more romantic than most travellers would have found it, his volume is none the worse for that, as his eyes have caught the reality as well as the humour and warmth of the open Spanish road and of the inns that stud the rough, romantic thoroughfare.

To the lover of open-air interests, Mr J. Wentworth



Day's 'The Modern Fowler' (Longmans) is fascinating. Its breezy, imaginative style, its realised sense of enjoyment, as well as what it has to tell, are as entertaining as need be; but—there is a dark side to it. This sport, exacting as it is and calling as it does to the stern manliness and powers of endurance of those who follow it, is too costly in bird-life to make this record entirely enjoyable. Time was, and not so long ago, when wild geese and other water-birds flew in flocks like clouds darkening the sky. It is an old memory that should still be possible, but the fowlers in the years of their activity have been merciless. With their wonderful guns and the skill which Mr Day shows is worthy of the weapons used the destruction has been enormous. It is recorded that one shot alone has killed fifty geese; another six wild swans. One fowler sent two tons of dead birds to market from Maldon. Another, not so long ago, bagged ninety-five in an hour; and yet another has killed over forty at a double discharge; while a gentleman whose name is given, 'considers about forty-four birds to be the limit of a double discharge. That is all a moderate man asks.' Beyond the shooting there are the methods of decoy-ponds, of which the author apparently does not approve; on one of which ten thousand wild birds were secured in a year. All this is sad and very unfair and it should not be. Wild fowl are not the sole property of the owners of saltings or of the 'imported pop shooters' who kill them beyond necessity, and the result of the over-shooting is that the favourite hunting-grounds and rivers on our East Coast often are empty of fowl. We appeal for moderation and restrictions in the destruction of bird life; for nothing is more beautiful or thrilling than the vision of a flight of geese across the sky. Except for the thought of that death by wholesale and the living loveliness of which our skies and waters are deprived, this book is refreshing.

Ireland in these days generally makes sad reading for those who love her and England, and are eager to keep her as an undiminished and equal partner in the Commonwealth of the Empire; and there are touches enough that inspire regret in Lady Gordon's truthful reminiscences, 'The Winds of Time' (Murray). Happily there is also in it humour of the good old gleeful Irish



kind, before politics turned gangrene over there and apparently deprived the majority of Irishmen of their sense of humour. Lady Gordon is an Irishwoman who, although born into 'Ascendancy' circles, had the liveliest sympathy with the people struggling for the freedom of fair play, and therefore is able to see the faults and qualities on both sides in the long and miserable controversy and agony which culminated in 'the Throuble.' Many of her pages make sad reading for Englishmen; but one thing happily she does bring out, and that is that the ill deeds of the Black-and-Tans, which let us down shamefully—a few hurried politicians thereby blackening our record in these later years—were not so cruel or evil as the kindred acts of their rivals of the I.R.A. It is a small mercy for which we are truly thankful. Although the book shows-up something of the darker sides of Irish politics and life, it still is a jolly book, for the author has a 'way' with her and can tell her stories with point, and she has plenty to tell. Although in her lifetime Lady Gordon has travelled far she has always returned to Ireland. Her volume shows why. As to the future, "All that's wanted is a little sense," as Dan remarked; but a little sense we are told appears to be 'even rarer than snakes in Ireland.' There is also there what may be called an obstinately conservative point-of-view, as is illustrated by another character in this book. "Things are a fright," as Mrs. Daly remarked when she first saw an aeroplane flying over her patch of oats in the middle of harvest operations. "Even the reapers and the binders do be gone up into the sky. Lord, save us!" To that ultimate prayer, anyhow, we all of us say 'Amen.'

It is well to end these notices with laughter unspoiled by the thought of politics; and Miss Rachel Ferguson provides that bountifully. In her 'Celebrated Sequels' (Cape) she takes a number of modern writers, with Dickens and Louise M. Alcott, so to speak from the ancients, and in their own respective ways continues certain of the stories they have told. Parody with her is not merely a bright and comic act of imitation, but is also of the nature of a somewhat searching criticism of style, characterisation, and manner of plot. Her best triumph, to our thinking, is with Major Wren's 'Little Beau Pipe'; which is brilliantly funny without being unkind (always a

blessed thing in parody); and it would be amusing to know precisely what Miss Delafield's Provincial Lady thinks of Miss Ferguson's adventurous reflection of her. Such weakness in these parodies as there may be comes rather in the imitation of style than anything else, her Kipling being only inexactlly Kiplingesque and her Dickens not quite the Dickens. But such imperfections are trivial as compared with the qualities of the book, which is excellent, mischievous fun for the New Year, and for Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter—oh, and for other times too!

In our notice in October of the Second Part of Sir James Frazer's 'The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion,' we stated that it was published by the Cambridge University Press, instead of by Messrs Macmillan, to whom we express our regret for the slip.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE 'MALTA QUESTION.'

*To the Editors.*

SIRS,—With regard to Mr H. Molson's article on Malta in the 'Quarterly Review' for July 1934, I submit the following :

1. The ability of the Maltese to handle self-government was confirmed by the Nationalist administrations (1921-27) and later admitted also by Governors Plumer, Congreve, and Campbell, by the Colonial Office, and by the Royal Commission (1931-32).

2. As to what unhappily occurred when Nationalists were not in power—during the period August 1927-June 1932—there can be no doubt that a great part of the responsibility rests with the Imperial Government. Nor should one lose sight of the fact that the delay of over a year, on the part of His Majesty's Privy Council, in upholding the sentence delivered by H.M. Court of Appeal in Malta, whereby the election of two pseudo-Senators was quashed, actually permitted (always with the aid of the same Imperial Authorities) the promulgation of 26 Laws which had been declared null and void by the same Court of Appeal, but which have since been ratified by the Imperial Parliament (September 1932) along with other Ordinances enacted by the Governor, also declared illegal in terms of the judgment of the Malta Court of Appeal given on June 25, 1930.

3. The Nationalist administration—dismissed on Nov. 2, 1933—has already irrefutably replied to the accusations made against it; but the Imperial Government has not, so far, made public either the relative official documents or the non-confidential 'White Book' which I compiled when Minister for Education. In my recent denunciation—both in London and in Malta—of the Colonial Secretary, I declared myself ready to prove, even in an English Court of Law, the falsity of certain official declarations of his.

4. The elections of June 1932, which returned to power the Nationalist Party so plebiscitorily, were *held under the exclusive control of the Imperial Authorities* of to-day. With the Colonial Secretary's previous consent, the Maltese Parliament, on Oct. 18, 1932, was told by the present Governor of Malta that the Maltese electorate had '*emphatically expressed itself*' by giving the Nationalist Leaders '*an unequivocal mandate*' (that is, the defence of the Italian language and of our constitutional rights), admitting also '*the six years of successful working of the Constitution by the Nationalist*

*Party' and our right to make all 'endeavours in order to obtain fuller constitutional rights and political liberties.'*

5. In the General Elections held in June 1932, Nationalists would very probably have captured all the seats in the Legislative Assembly, and not only a two-thirds majority, if, in lieu of Proportional Representation, the electoral system now prevailing in England had been in force in Malta.

6. The scholastic plebiscite in favour of the Italian language (October 1932) was wholly open and above-board and not in the least imposed, as I demonstrated both in Parliament and to the Colonial Office.

7. The statement regarding the Nationalist Party's alleged pressure on the Church Hierarchy has been recently refuted by the Archbishop of Malta.

8. Proof of the Italianity of the Maltese does not only lie in the mere fact that Italian has been spoken here since its birth in Italy, but also in our geographical position, racial status, religious belief, legislation, customs, history, and popular feeling. The Maltese dialect, although it has (like Sicilian) an Arabic framework, to-day contains 70 per cent. of Italian or neo-Latin words.

9. The present Imperial policy is leading to extremely dangerous consequences: (a) the further spread and deepening of the discontent of the Maltese people, (b) seriously undermining, if not wholly destroying, traditional Anglo-Italian friendship. Were I disloyal or anti-British I could wish for nothing better; but, precisely because I am not so, I proclaim the truth straightforwardly and unhesitatingly.

10. Against the recent dispositions taken by the Imperial Government in ostracising the Italian language, not only from the elementary schools but also from every branch of the Administration, from legislation, from the Law Courts, and even from the Faculty of Law in the University, substituting therefor the English language or the Maltese dialect, nearly all classes of the population have protested most energetically, beginning with the protest of the people's representatives comprising the great majority of ex-Senators and members of the Legislative Assembly, and followed by those of the 'Case Nazionali,' the Chamber of Advocates, the Notarial Council, the Chamber of Solicitors, the Chamber of Architects and Civil Engineers, the Chamber of Commerce, the University undergraduates, and the 'Giovine Malta,' almost all of which resolutions of protest were passed unanimously.

11. The Maltese Nationalist Party has always represented

the vast majority of the population and has always been very liberal, democratic, and progressive. Its administrative and legislative activities represent in Malta a real record of sagacity and hard work, very difficult of attainment by any other government, even when it has dictatorial power such as the present Administration which is free from all obstacles inherent to the parliamentary régime.

Yours faithfully,

ENRICO MIZZI (LL.D.),

Nationalist Leader and  
ex-Minister for Public Instruction.

VALLETTA (Malta),

Dec. 6, 1934.

